A

DISCOURSE

ON THE

CHARACTER

OF

King George the Third.

ADDRESSED TO THE

INHABITANTS OF BRITISH AMERICA.

BY THE REV. JOHN STRACHAN,
RECTOR OF CORNWALL, UPPER CANADA.

SERUS IN CŒLUM REDEAS ; DIUQUE
LATUS INTERSIS POPULO QUIRINI ; *Hor.*

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ADVERTISEMENT.

A FINISHED picture of King George the Third can only be drawn by one who has lived near him, and enjoyed the honor of knowning him perſonally; ſuch a writer will be able to enliven his narrative with a thouſand amiable anecdotes to which the preſent author has no acceſs. Living in the woods at a diſtance from books and from literary ſociety, his ſituation is not favourable for the compoſition of a work of this kind, he is therefore very ſenſible that he has not done juſtice to a character which poſterity will revere.

But he is induced to preſent, it, imperfect as it is, to the inhabitants of Britiſh America for ſeveral important reaſons. The ſituation of this Country in reſpect to the United States is ſomewhat critical; we ought therefore to be prepared for the worſt. And this preparation will be more cheerfully made, when we recollect what precious advantages we enjoy, and to what evils our ſubjection, even for a ſhort time, to that unprincipled government, would expoſe us. The ruling party in the neighbouring States think it Orthodox to execrate our Conſtitution and to vilify the character of our venerable ſovereign. As ſlander is more active than truth, thouſands have never heard the name of our good king coupled with any thing but tyranny and oppreſſion. Even the bulk of our own population in theſe colonies, are but very imperfectly acquainted with his true character, nor have they any opportu-

nity of acquiring the neceſſary information. This tract is intended to ſupply, in ſome degree, this deficiency, and it is hoped that it will enable them, in future, to judge more correctly of our ſovereign, becauſe it preſents his true likeneſs.

I am alſo flattered with the hope that my pamphlet, if carefully read, will aſſiſt in quieting the minds of my fellow ſubjects, and diſſipate murmurs and diſcontent by proving them totally unfounded. Our aged ſovereign ſtands at the head of a conſtitution which requires only to be known to be beloved; its different parts are ſo harmoniously combined and incorporated as to produce the greateſt poſſible good; for it not only inſures the moſt extenſive civil liberty to every individual, but preſerves all the other properties of a good government, diſpatch, ſecrecy, energy, wiſdom and union.

If any ſuppoſe that I have ſpoken too harſhly of the American Government, I have no apology to offer. It is obvious that I have chiefly in view the dominant faction, among the people in general, there are many individuals of high reſpectability and moral worth; religious, humane, hoſpitable and friendly, men who are an honor to human nature. I know ſeveral of this exalted character, but the reputation of the nation is ſinking.

I have added a number of notes, ſome of which will be found intereſting.

Cornwall, Upper Canada, 17 May, 1810.

A DISCOURSE.

THE acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty to the throne was attended with many pleaſing anticipations. He was the firſt prince of the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick born and educated in England. To him our language, our manners and cuſtoms, our laws and conſtitution, were early familiar, and it was reaſonably ſuppoſed that he would be more attached to his native country than to his electoral dominions. It muſt not be concealed that although the Britiſh nation ſecured the moſt ineſtimable advantages by calling the elector of Hanover to the throne, ſome very conſiderable inconveniences reſulted from that happy arrangement. George the Firſt was a foreigner, unacquainted with the genius of his new ſubjects, and too far advanced in life ever to become well acquainted with their true intereſts. His advancement to the ſovereignty of the Britiſh empire appeared ſomewhat precarious, and it was therefore natural for him to retain his predilection for his hereditary dominions. In the double capacity of elector of Hanover and king of Great Britain, he frequently found himſelf very awkwardly ſituated, and unable to act in ſuch a manner as to pleaſe both his Britiſh and German ſubjects. His

abilities were indeed excellent, and he came with the beſt intentions to the throne, but he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a vigorous but implacable faction, and rather appeared for ſome time the head of the Whig party than the illuſtrious chief of a united, powerful and loyal nation. George the Second, with leſs ability, was ſtill more attached to his electorate, and during his reign, the Britiſh thought that they were involved, without any neceſſity, in every continental diſpute. From being auxiliaries, they commonly became the principals in different wars, and were obliged to bear the moſt enormous burdens in order to pay nations for fighting their own battles.

Theſe opinions, whether correct or not, were univerſally believed and lamented by the people. They were lamented even amidſt that brilliant train of victories which cloſed the reign of the conqueror of Dettingen.* Our preſent ſovereign was hailed at his acceſſion with the moſt ſincere and affectionate congratulations; his adminiſtration was expected to produce a kind of millenium when Britiſh intereſts alone would ſway the meaſures of government—nor have theſe hopes been diſappointed. The blood and treaſure, the bravery, the public ſpirit, the enterpriſe and the virtue of the Britiſh nation were no longer ſacrificed for intereſts not their own. Aſcending the throne in the bloom of youth, our monarch was animated with the moſt tender affection for his mother country, and willing to guide himſelf by the abilities and experience of his Parliament, he confi-

* See Note I.

dently depended upon the ſupport of every honeſt man. I enter, exclaimed this virtuous Prince, with cheerfulneſs, into this arduous ſituation, and ſhall make it the buſineſs of my life to promote, in every thing, the glory and happineſs of theſe kingdoms, and to ſtrengthen the conſtitution in both church and ſtate.

Theſe manly ſentiments which have been nobly maintained, increaſed the ſatisfaction of the people. They were delighted to behold an Engliſhman on the throne inſpired with principles ſo generous, and who had nothing of that fatal predilection for Germany, which had proved, during the two former reigns, ſo injurious to the peace and proſperity of Great Britain. Nor were the people left to conjecture with regard to the ſincerity of his attachment, for he boaſted to his firſt Parliament, with an energy that penetrated every heart, that he gloried in the name of Briton, and that the peculiar happineſs of his life would conſiſt in promoting the welfare of a people whoſe loyalty and warm affection he juſtly conſidered as the greateſt and moſt permanent ſecurity of his throne. In order to give new force and permanence to that ardent gratitude and affection which warms your boſoms towards the beſt of ſovereigns, I have only to recal, to your recollection, the principal events of his life, devoted as it has been to promote the welfare and happineſs of his people, by ſtrengthening and extending our excellent conſtitution—by maintaining, with the ſtricteſt integrity, the civil and religious rights of all his ſubjects, and by encouraging and promoting the practice of true

religion and virtue. He may be truly ſaid to have performed his duty who loves that which is right with all his heart, and does it with all his power. How far our gracious Sovereign has acted up to this rule, a view of his character as a private gentleman and as the firſt magiſtrate of a powerful nation will ſufficiently prove.

In his private character, we have every thing to praiſe and nothing to condemn. We know that many have ſuppoſed that a public man may have a double character. That he may be lax in his private deportment, that he may even indulge in many vices, and allow himſelf a latitude of acting inconſiſtent with religion and virtue, and yet in his public capacity adhere to the moſt rigid integrity. I muſt confeſs that I am not among the number of thoſe who can admit that he who is neither a good huſband nor an affectionate parent, can acquit himſelf uprightly in a public ſtation: or that the monarch whoſe private deportment ſanctions licentiouſneſs and diſſipation can ever be a patriot king. Should his public meaſures iſſue from the moſt correct principles, he could never do ſo much good, becauſe he never will be truſted. It is impoſſible to give ſuch a perſon our unqualified confidence. Doubts will continually intrude themſelves, and the diſagreeable impreſſion will be always ſuggeſting itſelf, that he may prove falſe. His public virtue ſeems to be affected; a deluſion, a borrowed character which we never can believe ſolid. It is at home, we ſay, in the boſom of his family, that a man is properly known. it is amidſt his domeſtic circle, in the company of his friends

and companions that we diſcover the ſecret workings of his heart. To know people intimately, we muſt not reſt ſatisfied with viewing them in public where they may be on their guard to ſave appearances, but we muſt follow them to their ſecret receſſes, watch their minuteſt actions, and from theſe, divine their inmoſt thoughts. Upon this ſtrict ground of examination, an examination which few characters would bear, I claim your warmeſt approbation of our beloved ſovereign.

If we do not find him preſenting, to his people, a pattern of the pureſt morals, elevating their minds by his active piety, and cheriſhing that ſpirit of liberty which renders the Britiſh nation the envy and the admiration of the world, we ſhall not require you to join us in pouring forth our thankſgivings to God for preſerving him ſo long among us.

Our king ſupports and encourages the pureſt morals by his deportment as an affectionate huſband, and tender parent; in theſe endearing relations, he preſents an illuſtrious example worthy of the ſtricteſt imitation. Convinced that marriage is a divine inſtitution, that it is a union of hearts, affections and intereſts, and therefore to be moſt religiouſly obſerved, he diſplayed the greateſt wiſdom in forming ſo important a connexion, a connexion on which his future happineſs ſo much depended. The famous letter which the Princeſs Charlotte of Mecklenbourg Strelitz wrote to the King of Pruſſia had made a laſting impreſſion upon his heart. He thought, and he thought juſtly,

that a Princeſs capable of feeling ſo tenderly for the diſtreſſes of others,* and of expreſſing her feelings, in language ſo patriotic, ſo beautiful and pathetic muſt poſſeſs, in a very eminent degree, the virtues of the heart and underſtanding. This conviction of her merit, and this only, induced him to offer the amiable Princeſs his hand and throne. Nor have his juſt expectations been diſappointed. The tender regard which he has at all times manifeſted for his affectionate conſort, has been rewarded by the moſt ſincere love and eſteem. Marriage, producing a cordial union of hearts, becomes the bond of harmony and peace, and of the moſt refined and inviolable friendſhip; and ſuch has our beloved Monarch always found it to be. The firm guardian of his conſort's honour, faithful to the vows which he took at the holy altar, he gives a moſt valuable leſſon to his people. Were they to indulge in the ſame love and affection, they would find, in the marriage ſtate, a mutual communication of joys and ſorrows, a fruitful ſource of ſolid felicity, inſtead of thoſe jealouſies, heart-burnings, and indifference which poiſon the peace and comfort of ſo many families.

And let not the diſſipated, the giddy or the proud conſider it a matter of ſmall importance to give a faithful example in this the moſt intereſting of all our relations; for, by this leſſon, our affectionate king endeavours, as far as in him lies, to maintain the purity of morals in their ſource, for all the moſt valuable virtues begin at home. When

* See Note II.

marriage, that bond of happineſs, that golden chain which ſoftens and humanizes man, which expands his benevolent affections, and prepares, for him, new and more endearing duties, is polluted or even tarniſhed, what terrible conſequences enſue—the ſeeds of perpetual diſcord are engendered—families are rent in ſunder, the moſt implacable animoſities are produced, children are brought up in vice and infamy, and the pureſt ſources of felicity are dried up forever. Nor is it enough that the purity of this connexion is enforced by revelation as well as reaſon, if thoſe in the higher walks of life are found guilty. To them it belongs, in a peculiar manner to enforce the practice of virtue, by example; it is an imperious duty which their ſituation and intereſt eſpecially demand; a duty performed by our beloved ſovereign in the moſt perfect manner: he conſiders his royal conſort's honour and peace of mind his own, and never ceaſes to treat her with the moſt cordial love.

Behold him the father of a numerous offspring, anxious to form their minds to virtue and religion, to make them uſeful to their country, the guardians of its honour, and the terror of its enemies. Rewarded for his eagerneſs to inſpire them with the pureſt principles of integrity, he has already ſeen them ſtanding forward the ſtead pillars of the conſtitution, and the pride of the Britiſh nation.

Is it credible that this beloved monarch would have poſſeſſed the ſame influence over his people that he now enjoys, that he would have been enſhrined in their hearts, and always mentioned

with the warmeſt veneration, had his conduct been different. Had the outſet of his life been marked with vicious diſſipation, had thoſe hours which he ſpent at home with his children and amiable conſort been conſumed in diſgraceful revelry or in the arms of a miſtreſs. No, it is impoſſible—it is contrary to experience, contrary to the nature of man. Virtue poſſeſſes an extenſive power over the human mind; if its direct force cannot always be traced, it is eaſy to view it in the contraſt. In vain is a man endowed with the moſt brilliant talents, if his morals are impure. He may ſpeak eloquently of juſtice, of truth, and of virtue;—he may attack exiſting abuſes with the moſt pointed energy;—he may profeſs the moſt incorruptible integrity, the moſt ſincere love for his country, and the greateſt anxiety to promote its proſperity and glory. But he ſpeaks to the winds; his words are forgotten; they are never felt—they flow from a corrupt fountain, and in his mouth good appears evil.

It is this coincidence between his public and private character, that enables our gracious ſovereign to eſtabliſh his throne in the hearts of his people. They believe all his profeſſions, for his actions prove their ſincerity and truth; and they willingly ſurrender their affections to a ſovereign whoſe greateſt ambition is to render them happy.

What is ſo lovely, ſo venerable and ſo delightful, as the contemplation of ſuch a king? What monarch ever deſerved from his people greater admirtation, gratitude and love? Is it then any wonder that his authority is maintained rather by confi-

dence, affection and eſteem, than by his greatneſs and power?

Perhaps the difficulties under which kings labour in acquiring a proper education, and the numerous temptations to which they are expoſed, render their virtues more conſpicuous, and more worthy of veneration. This may be, and certainly is the caſe with other ſovereigns; but our monarch requires no indulgences of this kind; his merits reflect infinitely more ſplendour on his ſituation than they can poſſibly receive. Penetrated with the moſt ardent but rational piety, he regards the Supreme Being as the common Father of all, and mankind the children, the members of one family. He is not therefore puffed up with vain glory as if he were an independent being and his ſubjects beneath his regard; he looks upon them as his children who turn to him for protection, and to promote whoſe happineſs becomes the firſt of his duties; and it is this conviction that determines him always to prefer the public to private good.

No wicked king can ever deſerve or poſſeſs the affections of his ſubjects; he may govern by fear, but never by love. His people may be loud and ſervile in their exterior demonſtrations of reſpect, but theſe are never founded upon confidence and eſteem. It is impoſſible to venerate a man who degrades himſelf, and who has loſt all reſpect for the Supreme Being. If religion and virtue have loſt their power over him, what ſhall reſtrain him or what ſhall prevent him from violating the moſt ſacred rights and liberties of his people? To no

purpoſe will ſuch a monarch ſubſtitute parade and ſplendour, the tinſel of falſe glory and the glitter of unjuſt conqueſts for the ſolid virtues of the head and heart ; theſe may dazzle the people, but can never beget their veneration.

Our ſovreign is better acquainted with human nature ; he knows that his ſtation alone will never procure the love and veneration of his ſubjects ; Theſe muſt be derived from his perſonal conduct. We muſt be attached to the man, we muſt be convinced of his integrity and piety, before we can ſurrender him our affections, and before obedience to his commands becomes our honour and delight, as well as our duty. *

Such, my friends, is our ſovereign in private life ; and were his ſubjects to follow his example, what conſequences would enſue. The nation would be virtuous, and a virtuous nation is always powerful. Were the Britiſh to imitate the conduct of the king, and make a point of ſucceeding in that imitation, where ſhould we find a man among them unworthy of confidence, deſtitute of probity, or intemperate in his living ? Juſtice and integrity would cover us as a garment ; punctual in our dealings and in the performance of promiſes : affectionate huſbands, indulgent parents, not admitting that criminal indulgence ſo fatal to children, but that regular and yet tender diſcipline which becomes the foundation of future excellence. Pious without hypocriſy, more attentive to the ſpirit of religion than to idle diſtinctions, yet careful to preſerve thoſe exterior ordinances

* See NOTE III.

which ſhe retains as her outworks, but without parade or oſtentation. Were we to model our lives by the conduct of our ſovereign, corruption and venality would hide their heads, and all would be cheerfully obedient to the laws. Inſtead of pride, cruelty and oppreſſion, chriſtian charity would reign, each would embrace his fellow ſubject as a brother deſerving of his confidence and friendſhip. As no vicious character ever had acceſs to the king, ſuch would be hunted from ſociety, and the irreligious ſpurned as the corrupters of the public happineſs. All would be convinced that he who is falſe to God would prove ſo to man; that hatred to religion proceeds from levity or ignorance, from a corrupted heart or a perverſe underſtanding. The friend of man muſt be the friend of religion, for religion is the moſt fruitful ſource of our enjoyments.

In becoming chriſtians as he is a chriſtian, we ſhould ſuffer no vice to harbour in our ſouls, but be forever endeavouring to acquire ſuperior wiſdom and purer morals, and to diſtinguiſh ourſelves by our virtues from thoſe who are not chriſtians. Then ſhould we love God with fervent devotion, fearing him as a good child fears his father, and cheerfully ſubmitting ourſelves to his will. In all our ſocial relations, we ſhould be directed by juſtice, lenity and kindneſs: careful to cultivate meekneſs, forbearance and brotherly love; and to diſcharge, with fidelity, the duties of our particular ſtation.

Such would be the ſubjects of our beloved ſovereign, were we to follow his example. He

knows that he is himself a subject, as well as his people, of a far higher tribunal than his own, and that all must follow the same road to virtue, to godliness, to immortality and glory. He knows that if he possess more power he must do more good than other men; that as he enjoys more honour and respect, so ought he to deserve it by his generosity, his wisdom and his impartial ty—— that he cannot expect peace and harmony among his people, if he be not to them as a father; for if he requires their willing obedience, he must treat them as children.

Arduous indeed is the task which a king has to perform; but fifty years experience has proved that our sovereign has performed it well; he can say, with truth, that he was never urged on by a lust of power, that he never derided the distresses of his people, but that he has been continually anxious to present to the world, a christian prince guided by the principles of the gospel. Now the breezes of gratitude fan him on every side, and the evening of his days is cheered by the blessings of a great and generous nation.

If we have found the private life of our sovereign guided by the purest principles and worthy of our most unqualified approbation, we shall find his public actions no less deserving of praise. Called to the throne in the midst of an expensive and destructive, but successful war, he did not allow himself to be carried away by the lust of dominion, but exhibited uncommon moderation in the terms which he granted to his vanquished enemies. He knew that the continuance of hostilities, how-

ever ſucceſsful and glorious, muſt be attended with ſome ſacrifices, which humanity and patriotiſm, and even policy itſelf forbade. In the concluſion of the war he found an excellent opportunity of proving to the nation, that he was not dazzled by that ſpecies of glory, which is fed by human blood, and blaſts the hopes of nations; but that he preferred the happineſs of his ſubjects and the peace of the world, to the empty acclamations of military renown. In order to render the peace permanent, the king was content to make it honourable; that his enemy ſeeing his moderation, might not be induced to nouriſh any ſecret reſentment, or be urged by the greatneſs of his loſſes and diſgrace, to embrace the firſt occaſion of renewing the war.

Before it was poſſible for him to procure peace to the nation, he had given an immortal pledge of the purity of thoſe principles by which his adminiſtration was to be regulated. He mentioned to his Parliament, ſoon after his acceſſion, the propriety of ſecuring the independency of the judges. "I look," ſaid our virtuous monarch, "upon the independency and uprightneſs of the judges of the land, as eſſential to the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, as one of the beſt ſecurities to the rights and liberties of my loving ſubjects, and as moſt conducive to the honour of the crown." Such a mark of true public ſpirit, ſuch a warm regard for the ſecurity of the laws, liberty and property of ſubjects, has been ſeldom witneſſed. It was the ſame ſpirit that induced him, when adviſed by one of his miniſters to follow the cuſtom of the

late reign in ſecuring the elections, to ſpurn the counſel, and to declare, that as his ſole ambition was to render the nation flouriſhing and happy, he would truſt entirely to the loyalty of his people, not doubting but that their affection would ſufficiently ſtrengthen the hands of his government.

It has been by adhering to ſuch principles, by cheriſhing and protecting the rights of his people, as much as the moſt valuable prerogatives of the crown, that our gracious ſovereign has been able to cheriſh that ſpirit of liberty which flouriſhes in the Britiſh empire, when ſurrounding nations have fallen under the moſt intolerable ſlavery.

This has been a moſt wonderful age of innovation—men have miſtaken licentiouſneſs for liberty. They have ſought for freedom in being removed from all reſtraint, although it be a ſelf-evident maxim, that it is only by the due reſtraint of others that I can become truly free. A principle has been adopted by many writers, and held up as indiſputable, that in ſociety we ſurrender part of our natural liberty to ſecure the reſt. This principle is falſe—we make no ſuch ſurrender—we gain every thing, we loſe nothing. The laws protect, warn and enlighten us; they are continually deſtroying or removing whatever is offenſive. In the courts of juſtice they diſtribute their bleſſings like the dews of heaven; they impart refreſhment and vigour to all the political body, and preſerve the peace and happineſs of the cottage as well as the palace. We no more reſtrain our liberty by entering into ſociety, than we do in building a houſe to protect us from the cold—

a well regulated ſociety, that is a juſt government, ſo far from infringing, eſtabliſhes and extends our liberty. In a ſtate of nature, or before the eſtabliſhment of a ſociety, if ſuch a ſtate ever can be found, there is no liberty, for there are no laws. All laws and regulations preſuppoſe the eſtabliſhment of ſociety; they flow from the intercourſe which they regulate, and experience has proved their utility, before they are publicly recognized. To ſeek for liberty, even in the firſt ſtages of ſociety, is to ſeek for a calm in the midſt of a tempeſt. Are the barbarians free who act by the caprice of the moment, who are governed by their paſſions and the cravings of their appetites? He then who will take the trouble to reflect, muſt clearly perceive, that without ſociety we cannot enjoy liberty. What I poſſeſs another may take away; my freedom depends not ſo much on my own reſtraints as upon the reſtraints of others in reſpect to me. Now in a good government theſe reſtraints are the laws—and what do I loſe or ſurrender by becoming obedient to theſe laws? Nothing: for by them my liberty is extended and ſecured. We do not enjoy what another may take away—and what is ſecure in a rude ſociety? but civil liberty cannot be taken away by any individual, for we have the ſtrength of the whole ſociety on our ſide. The reſtraints therefore impoſed by a good government are only the ſovereignty of good laws, the reſtraints of ſound principles, and the commands of duty.

The word liberty has been ſo much proſtituted that we are in danger of loſing its true meaning;

for it is a melancholy truth, that the ſcience of good government and the principles on which it reſts are much leſs known now than they were a century ago, notwithſtanding the empty declamations which have diſturbed the world ſince the American revolution, about freedom and equal rights. Nothing is more abſurd than to ſuppoſe a nation free, becauſe it poſſeſſes a written conſtitution which is little regarded in practice. Before a people can be called free, their freedom muſt have been tried. It muſt have given permanent proofs of its health. It muſt have braved the moſt terrible ſtorms—weathered the attacks of tyranny on the one hand, and of faction on the other. And what is more, this freedom muſt have become the foundation of the public manners—it muſt have ſtamped itſelf on the people who enjoy it. And ſuch is the freedom of the Britiſh nation; it has undergone all theſe trials, and it has been triumphant. That magnanimity, that openneſs and independence of character, by which this nation is diſtinguiſhed, prove its freedom. That generoſity, ſincerity, boldneſs and energy ſhew that oppreſſion is unknown; and that urbanity, harmony and order, free from ſlaviſh fear or democratic barbarity, and anarchy, diſcover that this freedom is wiſely directed. Does any perſon doubt whether the Britiſh be the freeſt nation on earth, let him tell me where property and its rights are ſo well protected. This is the life and ſoul of liberty. What ſhall oppreſſion ſeize when property is ſecure? Even a tyrant will not be wicked for nothing; but the motives and objects are re-

moved, and the ſeed of oppreſſion deſtroyed, when property is ſafe. By this, life and liberty are rendered ſacred.

And has our gracious ſovereign ever endeavoured to abridge this liberty or to extend his prerogative at the expence of the people? Has he not on the contrary proved the watchful guardian of their intereſts, and holding the balance between the nobility and commons, become their common father, and demonſtrated by a reign of fifty years, that a limited monarchy is the beſt of governments?

But let us follow him in the exerciſe of the different branches of his prerogative. As ſupreme magiſtrate his firſt care is the regular adminiſtration of juſtice. This power he delegates to the judges, and in the courts over which they preſide every thing is carried on in his name. Has he ever tried to turn this prerogative to the augmentation of his power? So far from this, that we have ſeen him coming forward voluntarily to make the judges independent of the crown. Formerly they were during pleaſure; now they are during good behaviour. And they have become, to all intents and purpoſes, the arbitrators between the king and his people, for they are independent of both. This ſingle meaſure is ſufficient to immortalize George the Third, had he done nothing elſe, for he has rendered it impoſſible for him or his ſucceſſors to have any influence over the judges. Neither have theſe judges any power but what is given them by the laws, nor can they paſs any ſentence till the matter of fact has been ſettled

by men choſen by the parties. All private feelings, and conſequently all reſpect of perſons are baniſhed from the Britiſh courts of juſtice. Thoſe who are acquainted with human nature are able to appreciate this conceſſion of the king. In renouncing for himſelf and his poſterity the power of diſplacing the judges at the commencement of a new reign, he put the finiſhing hand to the conſtitution, and by founding it on the pureſt juſtice, gave it the faireſt chance to become eternal. Such a ſacrifice has been rarely made. Even virtuous kings are careful to preſerve their authority and influence unimpaired, and rather inclined to augment than diminiſh their power.

In every country except Britain, to be proſecuted by the government is to be condemned. That this is the caſe under the preſent deſpotiſm of France, no perſon will have the boldneſs to deny. And in the United States, which have borrowed all that is valuable in their inſtitutions from Britain, but which they have poiſoned or deformed by their crudities, faction produces the ſame effects as the cruel tyranny in France. But we ſhall be told that as the purity of Britiſh juſtice eſſentially depends upon the trial by jury, that pillar of liberty ; and as our neighbours poſſeſs that trial in its full purity, why then can we aſſert that their adminiſtration of juſtice is corrupt ? We anſwer, that in England, generally ſpeaking, the people are poſſeſſed of moral habits ; they are tremblingly alive to every thing that can affect their reputation, and they have a ſtrong veneration for religion. But if there be a nation where neithe

religion, virtue nor reputation are much regarded, where democracy has corrupted the heart by rendering it familiar with deception, where political falſehoods are conſidered meritorious, and the principles of honour and integrity diſregarded to advance a friend, or ruin a rival—in ſuch a nation the trial by jury has loſt its advantages. And is it not notorious that in that unhappy country, by the fooliſh called free, every man conſiders his cauſe loſt, if the jury be compoſed of his political opponents? And the judges not being independent, are or may be as eaſily ſwayed as the juries. Liberty in ſuch a country becomes worſe than an empty name, a maſk for oppreſſion; the law ſleeps or is wreſted from its purpoſe, and the reigning faction becomes irreſiſtible.*

Let it ever be remembered that the excellence of a jury entirely depends upon the purity of their religious principles. If a man fears not God, will his oath bind him, and will he not readily give it up to friendſhip, to intereſt, to ſolicitation or ſecret malignity? In England the laws are paramount, the king has never oppreſſed any of his ſubjects; his adminiſtration has always been directed by the pureſt juſtice and moderation: of this the people are ſo much convinced, that there is no ſacrifice which they would not willingly make in his defence. Conſidering his rights as a truſt which he is to exerciſe with the moſt ſcrupulous adherence to juſtice and religion, he reckons the privileges of the people a property which they ought never to alienate, and which it is nei-

* See Note IV.

ther his intereſt nor duty to undermine.—Above party ſpirit himſelf, he was determined from the firſt to aboliſh the ridiculous diſtinction of Whig and Tory which had ſo long diſtracted the nation, and to extend his power and protection equally to the whole body of the people. This he has at length accompliſhed, though not without much trouble and loud complaints from the expiring factions.

Wiſhing to unite all his ſubjects in harmony and peace, he has gradually removed thoſe religious diſabilities which the ſecluſion of the Stuarts from the throne and the protection of the national church had rendered neceſſary. Many ſevere laws had been enacted againſt the Catholics, who were ſuppoſed the friends of the baniſhed family, and the Diſſenters, by forſaking the eſtabliſhed church, deprived themſelves of many valuable privileges which their fellow ſubjects enjoyed. But no ſooner did theſe dangers diminiſh, than the king cheerfully concurred in leſſening the reſtrictions. From the reign of king William to that of our preſent ſovereign, the Catholics of England had laboured under many privations, with a ſilence and patience which at length excited the attention of the nation. The parliament therefore, in conjunction with the king, removed thoſe grievous penalties which had been impoſed for the preſervation of the conſtitution, then ſtruggling into birth. That liberal ſpirit of chriſtian charity which animates our king, made him rejoice in promoting ſuch a meaſure, and eager to repeal laws which were calculated (now that

their cauſe was removed) to deſtroy all ſocial and religious obligations, to poiſon the ſources of domeſtic felicity, and to extinguiſh every principle of honour. The favour which had been ſhewn to the Catholics in 1778 was extended to the Diſſenters in 1779. Our gracious ſovereign, anxiouſly diſpoſed to give every relief to his ſubjects, moſt readily aſſented to the bill preſented by his parliament, for relieving this claſs of citizens from many painful reſtrictions. The ſame chriſtian ſpirit of love ſtill farther extended the bounds of toleration in 1791. The Pope, ſo long the terrour of the world, had now ſunk into weakneſs and contempt. The Catholics themſelves had diſavowed thoſe principles which were moſt obnoxious or dangerous to Proteſtant ſtates, and it was no longer neceſſary to enforce the laws which had been made againſt them: on the contrary, the zeal and attachment which they had frequently manifeſted for the king and conſtitution, merited encouragement and reward.

In 1793, the Catholics of Ireland were more favoured than even their brethren in England; and except their excluſion from ſome confidential places in the executive government, and ſitting in parliament, no reſtriction whatever was continued. Indeed the moſt generous ſyſtem of conceſſion and conciliation hath characterized his majeſty's adminiſtration.

And while we praiſe our virtuous ſovereign for ſo readily aſſenting to all thoſe conciliating meaſures which ſerved to allay religious controverſies which, while they left the conſtitution ſecure in

church and ſtate, added much to the comfort and happineſs of thoſe whom they relieved, we are called upon no leſs cheerfully to praiſe him for reſiſting a farther conceſſion which he conceived dangerous to his government.

Whatever be the opinion of ſome individuals concerning the propriety of Catholic emancipation, the king's firſt motive for refuſing his concurrence is in the higheſt degree honourable. He conſiders, and perhaps juſtly, that ſuch a meaſure is inconſiſtent with his coronation oath. This ſcrupulous adherence to the ſanctity of an oath, hath ſecured the gratitude and admiration, the affection and confidence of all ranks of men, even of thoſe who conceive themſelves ſufferers by his firmneſs, and all regret the advanced age of our venerable ſovereign, who riſes in virtue as his years increaſe.

Here we have a ſacred pledge of the excellence of his moral principles and the fervour of his piety; and to ſhew that he was actuated on this occaſion by the pureſt motives; on being informed many years ago that the Catholics in Scotland were too poor to ſupport their clergy, he beſtowed upon their prieſts a ſmall annual penſion, which he quadrupled to the biſhops.

But the claims of the Catholics to total emancipation, may be refuſed on the ſtrongeſt grounds. While this body acknowledge the ſpiritual juriſdiction of the Pope, they act directly in oppoſition to one of the fundamental doctrines of Britiſh liberty, which we ratify with an oath, "that no foreign prince, perſon, prelate, ſtate or

potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority ecclesiastical or civil within these realms." As long as the Catholics acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction, their church may become as much a political as it is a religious institution. How can they be depended upon in all cates as to the state, when their consciencces are under the direction of a clergy who are bound by oath to obey the Pope? And is not the present Pope the creature, or rather the subject of our public and most inveterate enemy, who exercises the power of dispensing with oaths, and of dissolving people from their allegiance? This is a formidable objection to all further concessions to the Catholics.

The same liberality which has been so meritoriously granted to religious sects was also extended to political relations. The kingdom of Ireland had always been governed with a rod of iron; the jealousy of the British parliament had imposed restrictions on her trade and commerce at once oppressive, cruel and absurd; but during his happy reign they have been gradually removed. In 1778, a small beginning was made, but jealousy choked it in the bud. In 1780, good sense prevailed, and the trade of Ireland was placed on a liberal footing. It was no longer treated like an infant colony, and bound by unnatural restrictions.

In 1782, the British parliament renounced all power over that of Ireland, declaring it free and independent; and at the same time the king signified his intention of surrendering many important parts of his prerogative; and this magnanim-

ity was received with acclamation and gratitude by that high minded nation.

In 1783, these concessions were farther sanctioned by a law expressly enacted for the purpose of disclaiming forever all right in the British parliament to legislate for Ireland. Other advantages were given to the Irish; but such was the unhappy situation of that people, that they could make no use of them. Divided among themselves, and governed by a junto which was equally deaf to the voice of the government and of the people, no solid relief could be given but by uniting the two kingdoms. This grand measure, which consolidates the empire, has been at length carried into effect, and is one of the most glorious events of his majesty's reign. Indeed no measure could be more judicious or necessary. The inhabitants of the three kingdoms are at length placed on an equal footing, and not separated as they formerly were by absurd regulations. United under one legislature, mutual jealousies are destroyed, and the advantages of free trade and commerce are open to all.

Our gracious king appeared determined to bury, if possible, the last remains of political animosity; he had already restored the forfeited estates in Scotland to the families which had lost them in the rebellion, and, in 1800, with a promptness in the highest degree cordial and generous, he granted a pension of £4000 per annum to Henry Stuart, cardinal of York, (when reduced to absolute beggary by the robberies of the revolutionary French) the last branch of the illustrious but

unfortunate family of the Stuarts, although the cardinal had had the weakneſs to aſſert his title to the throne.

But the national proſperity, and the comfort and happineſs diffuſed by the impartial adminiſtration of our beloved king, would have received a mortal ſtab, had not our finances been cured of that decrepitude into which they were ſinking: national bankruptcy, a moſt dreadful calamity, was ſeriouſly apprehended by men of experience and per tration; numbers thought it unavoidable, and many had propheſied the time of its happening—the king therefore united his exertions with thoſe of his miniſtry to find out a remedy for this impending evil. It was Mr. Pitt's good fortune to diſcover a plan which diſpelled the riſing gloom, and whoſe efficacy diſplays in the ſtrongeſt light, the greatneſs of his genius; it inſures for him the gratitude of the nation, and clothes him with immortality. By means of a ſinking fund proviſion is made for gradually liquidating the former debts in a manner at once ſimple and effectual, and reſting upon principles certain and uniform in their operation, as has been incontrovertibly proved by an experience of twenty years. But it was not enough to remove the danger ariſing from the debts of former wars; the miniſter made it impoſſible to contract a new debt, without at the ſame time providing the means of diſcharging it in a moderate period. In theſe judicious arrangements, the king moſt readily concurred; and the confidence which a ſyſtem ſo perfect has inſpired, hath greatly increaſed the enterpriſe and exertions

of the people. Our national reſources* being thus improved, every poſſible encouragement has been given to trade, navigation and manufactures, and the public proſperity hath moſt wonderfully increaſed.

Theſe and many other judicious regulations, it is true, may be aſcribed to Mr. Pitt; but the king ſhares the merit for ſelecting and keeping ſuch a miniſter. The dread of the national debt ſeems now to be ſubſiding, though to ſome it is ſtill a ſubject of gloom and deſpair: but ſuch fears are not well founded; for a ſtrict examination will prove that our enormous taxes are the natural conſequences of the greatneſs of our wealth.

It was reſerved for the preſent reign to put an end to a traffic which had long been a diſgrace to the nation and to all Europe, a traffic which gave currency to the moſt ſavage opinions, which occaſioned the moſt dreadful crimes, which put all moral law to defiance, and which ſubſtituted the dominion of force for that of reaſon. The blood of the innocent Africans no longer cries to Heaven againſt us. Commerce has been taught to reſpect the laws of humanity, and the unhappy negroes are acknowledged to be men. Our ſovereign rejoiced in paſſing this ſalutary law; he rejoiced in the annihilation of a trade at which future ages will be aſtoniſhed—a trade which outrages the principles of chriſtianity, and tramples on human nature.

Though an ardent lover of peace, our king has had the misfortune to be engaged in ſeveral

* See NOTE V.

juſt and neceſſary wars. He was not able to inſpire other nations with that moderation and love of order which animated his royal breaſt; and found it neceſſary to maintain the honour of the nation by repelling unjuſt and unprovoked aggreſſions. The firſt of theſe was the Colonial or American war, the origin of which is to be found in the peace of 1763. Had our beloved Sovereign conſented to reſtore Canada to France, the ſtates of America had ſtill been colonies.—Poſſeſſed of the navigation of the lakes, and claiming a paſſage to Louiſiana, the French would have kept the Americans in continual alarm, harraſſing their frontiers and making encroachments upon their territories. Incapable of defending themſelves againſt a nation ſo powerful, they would have anxiouſly maintained their connection with their mother country, and would have willingly contributed their ſhare in the expence neceſſary for their protection. But no ſooner are they relieved from impending danger than they turn upon their protector and ſting the hand that ſaved them from deſtruction. It is not neceſſary to enter minutely into the cauſe and origin of the American war.* Future hiſtorians will do juſtice to Great Britain when the mania for undefined liberty and licentiouſneſs ſhall have paſſed away. It is ſufficient for us to remark, that they made a diſmal return for the millions ſpent in their quarrels, and for the blood that had flowed in torrents. They proved themſelves neither affectionate children, grateful colonies, nor

*See Note VI.

friendly allies. I rejoice however in their ſeparation; they had become an intolerable burthen to the Britiſh nation; they drew the attention of the government from internal improvements (of infinitely more utility) to the foſtering of inſidious colonies; and ſince this excreſcence has been cut off, the Britiſh iſles have advanced moſt rapidly in ſtrength and proſperity. No Engliſhman has cauſe to bluſh on account of this war;* it was excited by faction, and became ſucceſsful through treachery.

But the moſt unfortunate event of the preſent reign is of a more general and deſtructive tendency, and is common to England with all Europe. The revolution in France has been the ſcourge of the world ſince its commencement. This dreadful convulſion was accelerated, if not entirely produced, by the rebellion in America. The diſcuſſions to which this ſingular conteſt gave riſe, and the countenance granted by Louis XVI. to ſubjects in arms againſt their lawful ſovereign, eraſed from the minds of a great portion of his people that reverence and devotion for royalty, with which they were formerly inſpired. Theſe impreſſions were extended and confirmed on the return of the troops which had been ſent to America. The gifts of freedom were painted in the moſt faſcinating colours; the flame of blind enthuſiaſm was kindled in their breaſts, and a deſire for liberty excited which nothing could extinguiſh. Indeed the king of France ſigned his death warrant† and the ruin of his race when he ſigned the

*See NOTES VII. and VIII. †See NOTE IX.

treaty with the rebellious colonies. He ſuffered jealouſy to conquer prudence, and rejoiced in the opportunity of humbling a rival.

It were eaſy to aſſign the cauſes which made the revolution of France more ſavage and more dangerous to other nations than that of America, but here it would be out of place. Our virtuous ſovereign ſaw with concern the dreadful anarchy which pervaded that unhappy country, and the ſhocking maſſacres which were every day perpetrated, but he determined to preſerve his neutrality, having laid it down as a maxim not to interfere with the internal arrangements of other nations. But the arrogance and ambition of the Ephemeral rulers of France, ſoon left him nothing but ſubmiſſion or reſiſtance; and after they had imbrued their hands in the blood of their humane and pious ſovereign, it was vain to expect juſtice. Indeed the murder of their king rouſed the tender feelings of the whole Britiſh nation; intercourſe with France was ſuſpended, and the National Convention haſtened to declare war. With reſpect to the policy of a war with France, a difference of opinion at firſt prevailed. But whoever traces the progreſs of this terrible convulſion, muſt be convinced that it was impoſſible to maintain the relations of peace much longer. The rage for innovation was daily gaining ground and might in a ſhort time have overturned our happy conſtitution. The French revolution preſented a ſpectacle altogether new. Its ſanguinary progreſs, its early attempt to overturn the Chriſtian religion. The hopes it offer-

ed to the diſaffected in all nations, and the zeal which it exerted to increaſe them, juſtified the king in breaking off all communication with a country, where the revolutionary fervour carried every thing before it. At this period the ſituation of the Britiſh empire was in the higheſt degree critical, and it was difficult to decide which courſe to purſue. Subſequent events have however juſtified the choice that was made, by proving that a neutrality, had it been poſſible, would have been infinitely more deſtructive than the moſt furious war. What has Spain gained by her patient alliance, her humiliations and ſacrifices? What the king of Pruſſia for his temporiſing and inſidious policy? What the Dutch for their meanneſs and condeſcenſion? Has Switzerland itſelf, formerly ſo virtuous and free, eſcaped the rage of conqueſt and revolution? And if I be aſked what WE have gained, I anſwer, we have gained ſecurity, we have preſerved our happy conſtitution, we have maintained the purity of the public morals. Yes, that probity which ſeems on the continent of Europe to be loſt, ſtill diſtinguiſhes the Britiſh character. That abhorrence of fraud and falſehood, that dignified independence which every perſon feels, who is conſcious of the equal protection of the laws—that diſdain of all fawning ſervility and meanneſs, which the ſlaves of tyrants muſt put on, ſtill adorn the Britiſh nation. Had it not been for the war, we might have become equally degraded with our enemies, deprived of our rights, all ſecurity of perſon and property annihilated, and been found bowing at the feet of

one of the Corſican uſurper's ſatellites. Such a tyrant would have trampled on our laws, on our religion and civil policy; he would have enforced with the moſt unrelenting cruelty, the moſt arbitrary and oppreſſive meaſures. Hating that love of liberty, of honour, and of virtue, implanted in our nature, he would have taken every method to debaſe our minds. This would have been the exchange that we ſhould have made for the gracious ſovereign whom we now praiſe. Inſtead of his paternal affection, his ardour to increaſe our happineſs, his mild and faithful adminiſtration of the laws, we ſhould have found ourſelves groaning under a government of murder, a military deſpotiſm covered with corruption, at war with the virtuous, and deluging the kingdom with the blood of her moſt amiable children. Ruin and miſery would have overſpread the land; the laſt aſylum of liberty would have been deſtroyed; the light of the world extinguiſhed, and oppreſſion in her moſt dreadful attire would have been ſeen ſounding her victorious trumpet of horrour and diſmay. From evils ſo dreadful we have been preſerved by our watchful ſovereign; and while other nations have fallen, we remain ſecure, happy and free. He has conducted the veſſel of the ſtate with a ſteady hand, and he continues victorious.

There is however one errour, which, though flowing from a generous intention, has produced much evil and perplexity. The ſeverity of our maritime laws is the oſtenſible pretence for arming all Europe againſt us; but unwiſe relaxations of

these are the real source of our present difficulty. In the year 1756, Lord Chatham discovering that France, unable to resist our naval preponderance, had relaxed her colonial system, and permitted neutrals to bring home the produce of her colonies, which was done exclusively by her own ships in time of peace; and perceiving that the pressure of the war would be thus lessened, adopted a rule by which the admiralty were to guide their decisions to counteract her design. The rule was, *That a neutral has no right to deliver a belligerent from the pressure of its enemies' hostilities, by trading with his colonies in time of war in a way that was prohibited in time of peace.**

The fairness of this rule must be admitted by every impartial person; and its obvious tendency is to accelerate the return of peace: it was acted upon by Lord Chatham, and found efficacious. But since his time, the clamours of selfish neutrals have extorted a relaxation, as if the enforcement of so just a principle were contrary to morals. The first consequence has been, that the hostile colonies have found a benefit rather than a disadvantage in the war; they were never more flourishing, and their produce never flowed into the mother country in such abundance, with so great cheapness, and in so great security. The navy have been thus deprived of their lawful prizes, the manufacturers of the enemy find employment, his taxes are rendered productive, and he is enabled to continue the contest.

But the second class of evils arising from this

* See NOTES XIV. XV. XVI.

injudicious relaxation of our maritime laws are ſtill greater. The Americans becoming the carriers between the hoſtile countries and their colonies have riſen to a height of proſperity which hath made them inſolent and captious, and not being able to navigate their vaſt ſhipping, they entice our ſeamen from the ſervice of their country. And ſo far are they from being ſatisfied with the relaxations already made that they demand ſtill greater, ſuch as muſt quickly undermine our naval power. They detain our ſailors under pretence that they are American citizens—They refuſe our right of ſearch, and becauſe we are not inclined to grant their requeſts, they debar us from their harbours and interdict all intercourſe. One part of the diſpute with the unprincipled Government of that nation is happily removed, the colonies of our enemies have all been conquered, and it is hoped that our ſovereign perceiving that his generoſity has produced nothing but evil, will return to that juſt and equitable rule on which Lord Chatham acted, and to which his illuſtrious ſon, in his laſt illneſs, declared that he was determined to revert. Firmly maintaining our maritime rights againſt open enemies and ſecret foes, we may deſpiſe this degenerate government equally deſtitute of national honour and virtue, and leave them in ſilent contempt to brood over their ſelfiſh and iniquitous proceedings and to become the execration of future ages.*

It is thus that the moſt virtuous and generous conduct ſometimes produces, in this world, con-

*See NOTES X. XI. XII. XIII.

ſequences partially grievous and which the ſtrongeſt ſagacity could not have foreſeen. That free ſyſtem of colonization adopted by England ſo very different from the ſevere and reſtrictive form uſed by other nations inſtead of nouriſhing gratitude and affection, raiſed diſcontent, enmity and hatred. Our aged monarch from his anxiety to gratify neutrals relaxes his maritime rights. This ſerves no other purpoſe but to encourage demands for farther relaxations. The Americans calling themſelves friends, inveigle our ſeamen, and openly prefer the moſt paltry intereſts to our immediate and their own eventual ſafety as a nation. But the deluſion is vaniſhed, conceſſions are at an end, and the ſerpent is diſcovered.

Such are a few of the leading points of the reign of our gracious ſovereign :—To theſe, many others might have been added. The improvement of the juriſprudence in Scotland—the great liberality exerciſed towards the French emigrants —the cordial reception given to the harraſſed and unfortunate Louis XVIII. when all the other kings of Europe refuſed him an aſſylum. Is it then any wonder that the proſperity of the country hath increaſed in a moſt aſtoniſhing degree under an adminiſtration ſo paternal : that agriculture has flouriſhed in a manner unexampled in hiſtory : that commerce has been extended in all its branches, and that the arts and ſciences have advanced infinitely more in Britain than in any other country in Europe ? Indeed learnig and the arts have always experienced the liberal protection of the king. In 1768, he inſtituted the

Royal Academy of Painting, under his immediate care, subject to the direction of forty artists of the first rank in their several professions. This reflects immortal honour on the taste and munificence of the King, and proves his eagerness to promote the progress of the arts. He cheerfully came forward to promote the establishment of the Royal institution in London for the purpose of giving regular lectures on the sciences: an institution which has already done much towards the diffusion and improvement of knowledge and produced a series of discoveries only surpassed by the discoveries of Newton, and which, but for this, might have been still unknown.

Animated by that pure patriotic flame which is the noblest passion that can enter the breast, he is forever seeking his people's good, and always teaching them, by his illustrious example, how to procure it. Though far distant, we are no less the objects of his paternal care. To us as well as to the inhabitants around him, he is the faithful guardian and dispenser of all the benefits flowing from the most perfect form of government. Our constitution, modelled after that of Great Britain, partakes of all the advantages which an experience of several centuries had accumulated. It is not, therefore, the work of a day; it rests upon old and tried foundations, the more durable, because visionary empiricks have not been allowed to touch them. No fine spun theories of metaphysicians, which promise much and end in misery, have shared in its formation; such men may destroy, but they can never build. All the privileges

which Engliſhmen poſſeſs are ours. In this reſpect, the Britiſh empire is united; for with a generoſity, never before equalled, theſe liberties were extended, without reſerve, to the French inhabitants of Lower Canada. This portion of a once great and gallant nation, were received as fellow ſubjects; every mark of ſubjection was carefully removed; their very prejudices have been treated with the greateſt reſpect, and they are left in the full exerciſe of their religion and of all their civil rights. Yes, Canadians, valuable are the advantages which you enjoy as Britiſh ſubjects; your ancient laws reſpecting property have been retained becauſe you deſired it, and the ſeverity of the criminal code has been removed by the introduction of the milder adminiſtration of the law of England. Your very feelings have been conſulted with a condeſcenſion and delicacy highly pleaſing; your manners and cuſtoms have been cheriſhed and protected, your language retained in the courts of juſtice, in parliament and upon all public occaſions. Our gracious ſovereign as well as his parliament, have manifeſted no other deſire than to extend your liberty and increaſe your happineſs. You have received the power of correcting what ſhall appear wrong in your laws and inſtitutions, and of framing ſuch new regulations as the growing intereſt and proſperity of the province ſhall require. Enabled to change, modify and improve the exiſting laws, and poſſeſſing all that is beneficial in the Britiſh conſtitution, what may be juſtly expected on your parts in return for gifts ſo precious? Surely that you will return that

affection and love for our auguſt ſovereign, which he has manifeſted to you. That you will teach your children the value of the benefits which you have received, and inſpire them with gratitude and loyalty. Behold, you will ſay, the generous treatment which we have experienced from the Britiſh. Thrown into their hands by the fortune of war, we found them friends inſtead of enemies. They relieved us from the numerous oppreſſions of our former government, and moſt anxiouſly removed all traces of recent victory.—We were enrolled among the number of Britiſh ſubjects, and all the rights, privileges, and immunities of that happy people were conferred upon us. And, my children, living under a king ſo generous, ſo benevolent and juſt, a king whoſe greateſt joy is to ſee his ſubjects happy and free, what can we wiſh for that we do not poſſeſs: behold comfort, wealth and grandeur flowing in upon us, and our liberty giving our country the moſt ſolid charms, notwithſtanding its freezing ſky and procraſtinated ſnows. To the freed man, labour loſes its pain; he may be poor, but he feels himſelf independent, and he bows not to the proud and the haughty, the rich or the powerful, for they dare not moleſt him. Other countries may enjoy a warmer climate, and may produce more delicious fruits, but are theſe an equivalent for anarchy, for deſpotiſm and oppreſſion. Cultivate then my deareſt children, your affection for the Britiſh king, government and laws, and for your Britiſh fellow ſubjects. This affection, this loyalty will be better than mines of ſilver and

gold ; it will warm your hearts and inſpire you with the nobleſt virtues. And let not this ſacred attachment to our king be cankered with the ſpirit of diſcontent : fly from thoſe who endeavour to poiſon your minds with diſtruſt of your Britiſh brethren with details of grievances which under ſo free and generous a government never exiſted, and of oppreſſions which under ſo free and generous a government never durſt appear. And let not the ſordid paſſions of the ſoul deter you from ſtepping forward, in the hour of danger, to defend your country, and to preſerve, unimpaired, the glorious privileges which you have received. Trust to your fathers who are ready, after fifty years experience of the mildneſs, the juſtice and integrity of the Britiſh government, to prove their loyalty by the moſt precious ſacrifices, and can you think that this upright government would change its virtues for ſeverity and oppreſſion ? No ; the intereſt of the people and the government is the ſame. Let us therefore rally round it and ſacrifice, with alacrity, our wealth, even life itſelf to preſerve it pure : that thouſands may enjoy thoſe bleſſings which it is qualiſied to beſtow, contented if we can contribute to its permanence and be entombed for our exertions in the breaſts of a grateful poſterity. Such, Canadians, ought to be your exhortations to your children : inculcating, with paternal anxiety, affection for your fellow ſubjects, proper reſignation and obedience to the laws, a due deference and homage for ſuperiors, and for thoſe who are publicly entruſted with the

adminiſtration of the province. To do this is more peculiarly your duty as partakers in the benefits of a conſtitution of government founded upon the moſt equitable, rational and excellent principles : a conſtitution of free and equal laws, ſecured on the one hand againſt the arbitrary will of the ſovereign, and the licentiouſneſs of the people on the other : a conſtitution which has become the fruitful ſource of heroes, the nouriſher of liberty, the promoter of learning, arts and commerce : a conſtitution which protects and ſecures the life and liberty of every individual, and whoſe pure adminiſtration has been experienced for fifty years through a king who delights in being the guardian of freemen and the father of his people. To conclude, our gracious ſovereign looks to the inhabitants of the Canadas with peculiar pleaſure : He has bound the French part of the population by gifts and privileges which form ties of the moſt pleaſing and laſting kind, and he well remembers the ſacrifices which many of his ſubjects in Upper-Canada, Nova-Scotia and New-Brunſwick have already made in his defence : He never forgets a kindneſs, and he has liberally rewarded them for the privations to which they have voluntarily ſubmitted. So many marks of reciprocal affection inſure the permanence of your loyalty ; the ſame ardour which you have formerly diſplayed, and which, though unſucceſsful, covers you with glory, would ſtill inſpire you with the equal affection, and your hopes of ſucceſs would be better founded. And you who are young, remember

that as our gracious ſovereign is dear to all his ſubjects, he ought alſo to be dear to you : imitate the loyalty of your parents, and as you are heirs to their poſſeſſions, be heirs alſo to their virtues. And you who have come into this country voluntarily preferring it to your own, you will perceive the duty of being true to the oath of allegiance which you have taken. You have been recognized as Britiſh ſubjects, you have been adopted into our family and received as children.—Let then obedience and ſubmiſſion to the laws mark your conduct, and as you receive protection, our king has a juſt claim to your ſervice.

But in ſpeaking to Britiſh ſubjects, to men conſcious of enjoying liberty in its higheſt perfection, it may be ſuperfluous to exhort to loyalty. They know that to riſe in defence of the king and conſtitution which nouriſhes and protects us, has, in all ages, been a mark of diſtinction. The greateſt and beſt men recorded in hiſtory were eminent for their patriotiſm. Who can fight with more ardour for wealth, for property, for honour, for family, for friends and for his country, than he who arms himſelf to fight for his own property, for his own honour, for the ſafety of his friends, for his own family, his own felicity and the independence of his own country ?

In defending our venerable ſovereign and the government over which he preſides, we are defending our moſt precious intereſts, and diſcharging a debt of gratitude in a manner the moſt agreeable. For it is by affection and loyalty that we are enabled to ſweeten the laſt days of our good king ;

thoſe days which are inceſſantly employed in promoting our proſperity and happineſs. His exhortations, his authority and example have always evinced the moſt generous zeal and activity in the public ſervice, and his adminiſtration hath been principally known to us by acts of benevolence and mercy.

He is now verging towards the grave, and like the ſetting ſun in a calm and ſerene ſky, he is beheld by his affectionate ſubjects with praiſes and bleſſings. No murmurs cloud the horizon—the countenances of all are filled with the joy of grief. They know his value, they dread his loſs. They are not ſupported by the hope which animated them during his ſickneſs in 1789, that the ſtrength of manhood would diſſipate the diſeaſe. Alas! there is no cure for declining years, and they will not again burſt forth in the fulneſs of joy, with one heart and one voice, to thank God for his reſtoration. But they have ſpontaneouſly ſtamped his character with the faireſt marks of honour and renown, when after an experience of his reign for fifty years, they roſe with accordant voice; ruſhing into the temples, and pouring out the effuſions of their hearts in prayer and praiſes with thankſgivings and rejoicings, with deeds of benevolence and charity to their fellow ſubjects, they all expreſſed their gratitude to God for having ſpared his gracious life. Such are the grateful beams which illumine the evening of our ſovereign's life; ſuch the bendictions that are ſhowered upon his ſacred head, and ſuch the fulfilment of the Biſhop of London's prophetic pray-

er at his acceſſion to the throne. "Let there be," ſaid the loyal prelate, "but one conteſt between "them, whether the king loves his people beſt, or "his people him; and may it be a long, a very "long conteſt, may it never be decided; but let "it remain doubtful, and may the paternal affec- "tion on the one ſide, and the filial obedience on "the other, be had in perpetual remembrance."

NOTES.

NOTE I. p. 6.

SEVERAL hiſtorians, and Dr. Smollet in particular, mention the rapid improvement of Hanover after its elector became king of Great Britain. And they aſſign, as the cauſe of this improvement, the partiality which George the Firſt and Second entertained for their hereditary dominions. This partiality has given riſe to loud and bitter complaints, and it has been admitted by writers of all parties that Britiſh intereſts were ſacrificed in quarrels not their own. It cannot be denied that the preſent royal family as electors of Hanover were more intimately connected with the affairs of the continent than the Stuarts had occaſion to be, but it does not follow from this that Hanover always gained as Great Britain loſt. The very contrary was frequently the fact. It is worth obſerving that the Hanoverians have been as loud in their complaints on this head as the Britiſh, and probably with as good reaſon. They ſay that the king of Great Britain, invulnerable at home, was frequently attacked as elector of Hanover, and that country expoſed to depredations which might have been eaſily avoided, had not the king of Great Britain diſdained to adopt a policy which he would have willingly embraced as elector of Hanover. The clamour againſt the Hanoverians is therefore abſurd: they ſuffer more than we can do by having their country made the theatre of wars which their native princes might have avoided, and what we loſe is like duſt in the balance compared to the invaluable advantages of ſecuring our conſtitution, liberty, and laws.

NOTE II. p. 10.

THE rage for equality which the American and French revolutions have introduced, has given currency to many notions falſe and miſchievous. Perſons of high rank have not only been refuſed the reſpect and deference to which they were entitled, but republican ferocity has delighted to deprive them of reputation and talents. Kings and queens, nobles, and perſons of quality, ſay theſe modeſt perſons,

are unacquainted with the rights of humanity, incapable of ſympathiſing with diſtreſs and conſpicuous only for cruelty and ignorance. Amidſt their invectives againſt rank and dignity, theſe anarchiſts have beſtowed upon themſelves the moſt diſguſting praiſe as excluſively poſſeſſing all ſenſe, humanity, taſte and genius. Indeed the legiſlature of the United States ſeriouſly deliberated whether they ſhould not declare themſelves the moſt enlightened nation in the world. What will ſuch perſons ſay to the eloquent letter which follows:

"*May it pleaſe your Majeſty,*

"I am at a loſs whether I ſhould congratulate or condole with you on your late victory; ſince the ſame ſucceſs which has covered you with laurels, has overſpread the country of Mecklenburg with deſolation. I know, ſire, that it ſeems unbecoming my ſex, in this age of vicious refinement, to feel for one's country, to lament the horrours of war, or wiſh for the return of peace. I know you may think it more properly my province to ſtudy the arts of pleaſing, or to turn my thoughts to ſubjects of a more domeſtic nature; but however unbecoming it may be in me, I cannot reſiſt the deſire of interceding for this unhappy people.

"It was but a very few years ago that this territory wore the moſt pleaſing appearance. The country was cultivated; the peaſant looked cheerful; and the towns abounded with riches and feſtivity. What an alteration at preſent from ſuch a charming ſcene! I am not expert at deſcription, nor can my fancy add any horrours to the picture: But ſure even conquerors themſelves would weep at the hideous proſpect now before me. The whole country, my dear country, lies one frightful waſte, preſenting only objects to excite terrour, pity and deſpair. The buſineſs of the huſbandman and the ſhepherd is quite diſcontinued; the huſbandman and the ſhepherd are become ſoldiers themſelves, and help to ravage the ſoil they formerly occupied. The towns are inhabited only by old men, women and children; perhaps here and there a warrior, by wounds or loſs of limbs, rendered unfit for ſervice, left at his door; his little children hang round him, aſk an hiſtory of every wound, and grow themſelves ſoldiers before they find ſtrength for the field.

"But this were nothing, did we not feel the alternate inſolence of either army as it happens to advance or re-

treat. It is impoſſible to expreſs the confuſion which even thoſe who call themſelves our friends, create. Even thoſe, from whom we might expect redreſs, oppreſs us with new calamities. From your juſtice therefore it is that we hope relief: To you even children and women may complain, whoſe humanity ſtoops to the meaneſt petition, and whoſe power is capable of repreſſing the greateſt injuſtice. I am, ſire, &c."

If this illuſtrious Queen were obliged to deſcend from her exalted ſtation as ſoon as a lady could be found capable of writing a ſuperior letter upon the ſame ſubject, will any perſon capable of judging, heſitate to ſay that ſhe would have nothing to apprehend, for no ſuch perſon ever could be found.

NOTE III. p. 14.

Persons of licentious lives and thoſe who are not accuſtomed to examine the effects of moral cauſes, will be ready to ſuppoſe that I have dwelt too long upon the private and domeſtic virtues of our amiable ſovereign. But I do not regard the opinions of ſuch perſons; they are not indeed qualified to decide, and I am ſure of meeting, in this reſpect, with the approbation of the good, who are aware of the great importance of virtuous example. The writers on the French revolution unanimouſly declare that the general corruption of manners was one of the moſt powerful cauſes of that unhappy event. And this corruption was ſupported by the example of the king. Louis XV. lived in open adultery. He ſeduced a city matron, carried her publicly from her huſband to exerciſe ſovereign authority, and this opened a channel for licentiouſneſs. This weak prince placed his ſceptre at the feet of one of his miſtreſſes who had been choſen from among the dregs of Paris, and this meanneſs covered him with contempt, the certain forerunner of ſtate diſaſters. Governed by women of characters ſo abandoned, decency fled the court. All who made profeſſions of honour and who reſpected propriety of conduct, were overwhelmed by the denunciations, the licentiouſneſs, the intrigues and corruption of thoſe abandoned women, who ſurrounded the king, with a crowd of people without morals, and enemies to virtue. This general corruption of manners, and the meaſures adopted by this devoted prince weakened his authority, undermined the ſtate and aſſiſted in producing that revolution in which his grandſon

the virtuous and humane Louis the XVIth, periſhed.—When this prince aſcended the throne, though fond of domeſtic happpineſs, he wanted energy to purify ſo corrupt a court and ſo rapacious an adminiſtration, and he ſunk under the conflict. Many examples might be given of the bad effects of licentious morals in the higher orders. Indeed every father of a family who has been himſelf guilty, ſooner or later deplores it in bitterneſs. In this new country where licentiouſneſs has already made a moſt alarming progreſs, you frequently find people living debauched lives diſgraceful to themſelves and pregnant with future miſery. Their numbers indeed keep them in countenance, and conceal, for a time, their contemptible ſituation. But I might appeal to many keepers who, after living in a degraded manner for a number of years, give their paramour the title of wife not from any affection for her, but on account of compaſſion for their children: Excluded from genteel ſociety, they drag out a miſerable exiſtence, and the vulgarity of their domeſtic regulations and manners reminds them every day of their folly.

NOTE IV. p. 23.

We are frequently deafened with abſurd and ridiculous deſcriptions of American liberty: But the foundation of true liberty is the ſtrict and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. An obſcure member of the houſe of commons, not many months ago, accuſed the duke of York of mal practices. He was attended to, and the conduct of the king's favourite ſon was ſtrictly examined. The inquiry in as far as it reſpected his official buſineſs was highly creditable to his Highneſs, but notwithſtanding he found it neceſſary to reſign.

The commander in chief of the American army is accuſed not merely of mal practices in his official capacity, but of receiving bribes from a foreign power, and of conſpiring the overthrow of his own government, and he is accuſed, not by an obſcure individual, but by a ſenator in congreſs who declares himſelf ready to ſubſtantiate his charges, and to convict him of corruption and high treaſon before any court of juſtice; but no proper enquiry takes place; he is not tried, but the affair is huddled up. Lord Melville was accuſed, impeached by the House of Commons and tried by his Peers; he was indeed honourably acquitted, but his friends durſt not prevent his trial. Mr. Pitt and ſeveral of

the King's ſervants were ſummoned to give evidence at Maidſtone on the trial of O'Conner; they all attended, they durſt not diſobey the ſummons of the Court; They gave their evidence. But Mr. Madiſon and his colleagues refuſed to obey the ſummons of the Court reſpecting Miranda's expedition, pretending that they were required in their ſeveral departments. This was to inſult the Court, to expoſe it to contempt and to poiſon the ſource of juſtice.

The American Juries pay ſo little regard to an oath, ſo little attention to the evidence that their verdicts are often erroneous. Many of them have no religion; many deſpiſe it—numbers never have been baptiſed, and conſider the oath a jeſt. So general is the corruption, and ſo certain are ſome perſons of the impoſſibility of receiving juſtice from them that they wiſh that one or two upright judges were to decide, and juries, in civil caſes, to be excluded. The American juries commonly enquire the political opinions of the litigators and give it to their friend, or if politics be out of the queſtion, they decide in favour of the poorer; we do not ſay but that juſtice may be ſometimes obtained, but her preſence in the courts is rare.

But the lenity exerciſed towards general Wilkinſon is not extended to their political enemies, by the ruling party. Witneſs the vulgar and groſs proceedings againſt judge Chaſe and the oppreſſion of the Government on Burr. The Preſident even inſulted the judge for acquitting him in his public meſſage to Congreſs.

NOTE V. p. 30.—On the Finance.

It was propheſied about a century ago by perſons who had made the finances their particular ſtudy that the proſpect before us was gloomy. Mr. Hume, in the firſt edition of his eſſays, aſſerted that we could not maintain our credit when our debt reached 100 millions, but he lived to ſee it double this ſum, and prudently expunged this paſſage in the future editions of his works obſerving that it was impoſſible to conjecture how far we might extend our credit, or to what amount the debt might be raiſed. Our gradual increaſe of wealth has moſt happily averted all predictions of Bankruptcy, the improvement of our manufactures and the great extenſion of commerce aided by that national attachment which every Briton feels for his country, and which induces him to make the greateſt ſacrifice in its defence, have always enabled the ſtate to procure the neceſſary ſup-

plies. The experience therefore of the paſt juſtifies this comfortable concluſion for the future, that our finances require only to be directed by men of integrity and information, to enable the nation to meet any exigency, and to maintain this or any other juſt and neceſſary war, as long as our enemies remain deaf to truth and juſtice. The exiſtence of a national debt may be perfectly conſiſtent with the intereſt and proſperity of the Country, and it is only when the borrowing ſyſtem has been abuſed, that it has become alarming. To thoſe who may not be converſant in this intereſting matter, the following ſhort ſtatement may be acceptable. Taking the public debt at 600 millions nominal capital, this when reduced to real money capital valuing 3 per cts. at 60 will amount to 360 millions. The ſinking fund this preſent year enables the commiſſioners to pay off ten one half millions or about 1-34th part of the whole debt, ſo that in 34 years even if the ſinking fund were not to accumulate, the preſent debt would be paid off. But it is evident that if 10½ millions of the 360 millions be paid this year, the intereſt of the money ſo paid is ſaved, which, in this caſe is ſomething more than half a million, ſo that in 1811 ſomething more than 11 millions can be paid; in fine, the whole debt would be extinguſhed on this plan in 17 years from this time, or in 1827. But as ſuch a rapid extinction of the national debt would be attended with inconvenience, it is probable that Miniſters will apply ſome part of the ſinking fund to the immediate reduction of the moſt grievous taxes. Thus, for example, in the year 1818 when the ſinking fund on the ſmalleſt ſcale, ſuppoſing it to receive no intermediate improvements, will amount to rather more than ſeventeen millions. Miniſters may chuſe to pay off only fourteen millions of the public debt, and repeal taxes to the extent of three millions per annum; next year or 1819, they can pay the ſame ſum and repeal exiſting taxes to the amount of another million; thus the reduction of the taxes and of the debt would go hand in hand; nor do the new loans interfere with this admirable ſyſtem—for it is enacted that every new loan ſhall be paid in 45 years by a ſinking fund peculiar to itſelf. The Miniſter in providing for the intereſt of every new loan, provides one per cent above what is neceſſary, and this one per cent is applied towards reducing the capital which it does in about 45 years. This part of the ſyſtem has been amended by making the appropriation larger eſpecially in time of war, ſo that every new loan may be re-

paid in 14 years. On the whole, such is the resources of the country, and such the certain success of Mr. Pitt's plan that the national debt ceases to be an evil of any considerable magnitude.

NOTE VI. p. 31.

The policy adopted by the British Ministry towards the colonies after the peace of 1763 has been held up to execration, but when carefully weighed, we shall find that we go to the limits of our censure by calling it unwise That they were endeavouring to lay a foundation for arbitrary power will not be easily credited by any impartial person. Soon after His Majesty's accession to the throne, the parliament voted three hundred thousand pounds to enable his Majesty to give proper compensation to the respective Provinces in North America, for the expences incurred by them during the war. This generosity did not appear very consistent with ideas of immediate oppression. It is also worthy of remark that when the first bill for taxing America was brought into Parliament, it met with no opposition; the political enemies of the ministry who afterwards declaimed so bitterly against it, were silent. Indeed nothing could appear more reasonable than that these parts of the empire which had benefited most by the expenses of the war should contribute something to lessen the heavy debt which these expences had occasioned, and not a member at that time, in the house of Commons, had the smallest doubt of the constitutional right vested in the parliament to raise the contribution. Afterwards when the colonies opposed the collection of these taxes, the opposition began to discover arguments in their favour, though they still admitted that Great Britain possessed the supreme governing and legislative power, and had always bound the colonies, by her laws, and by her regulations and restrictions in trade, navigation and commerce, but a distinction was attempted to be made between this power and that of taxing them, neither very evident nor ingenuous. All parties allowed that external taxes might be levied by parliament, but not internal. The parliament therefore conceded this point, and after repealing the stamp act, they imposed a small tax on tea. But the colonies, as had been foretold, began to exclaim, "if the parliament of Great Britain have no right to tax us internally, it can have none to tax us externally, and if it has no power to tax us without our own consent, it has none to govern or legislate

for us without our consent. It has been said that the colonies would have been content with a limited representation in parliament. This seems doubtful. They appear to have aimed at independence from the beginning, and it is more probable that no concessions, no advantages offered them by Great Britain would have availed. Besides the situation of the colonies and their mother country was peculiar: They were long weak and feeble, always receiving, and giving nothing. Moreover supposing such a concession to have been effectual, yet it could hardly be expected from those violent measures which the colonies adopted. Even granting that the acts of parliament were inexpedient, granting that they were wrong, it was difficult to repeal them in the face of insurrection and defiance. As the contest has long ceased, it may be thought nugatory to enter into the subject, but let it be remembered that by proving that Great Britain, in imposing certain duties, was not actuated by a spirit of oppression, but only with the desire of rendering her protection more efficacious, and if it appear probable that the States had determined to be satisfied with no concessions but to become independent: that they thanked Providence, that they had arrived at growth and strength sufficient to resist the mother country; we shall be able to repel the insidious attacks made on our country by Americans. Indeed we might proceed to shew that the same insubordination which produced the revolution has caused several rebellions since, and will finally overturn the present government. Great Britain might be mistaken in her policy, but America cannot prove her guilty of injustice or oppression.

NOTE VII. p. 32.

The French revolution must be allowed by those who were at first its Friends, to have so notoriously failed to produce the beneficial effects which were confidently promised by its authors, while it has been guilty of the most horrid excesses, and produced the most baneful effects that one cannot hear, without indignation, any person speaking of it as glorious. How comes it then that a very great proportion of the American people still regard this sanguinary revolution with exultation, and after it has sunk into the most alarming despotism that the world ever saw, a nation pretending to the greatest freedom behold its progress with joy. It is that the American revolution has as certainly

failed as that of France and is ſinking faſt into an anarchy which will give riſe either to a general deſpotiſm, or to a diviſion. Proofs are not wanting to eſtabliſh the truth of this opinion, and a minute illuſtration of them would be doing an eſſential ſervice to mankind. Europeans and thoſe who live at a diſtance are miſled, and ſuppoſe that Americans are free becauſe they have a fine conſtitution written upon paper. They do not know that this conſtitution is liable to inſuperable objections, and that it is only by infringing them that the government ſtands. Inſtead of poſſeſſing the happieſt government in the world, the United States poſſeſs one of the worſt, for who is ignorant that that unhappy country is ſubject to a Virginian oligarchy. Foreigners do not know until it be too late that the oligarchy or governing junta do not heſitate to break thoſe parts of the conſtitution which are in themſelves good, when they happen to ſtand in their way. The framers of the government of the ſtates ſeem to have thought that liberty was every thing, but though this be the moſt material, other perfections muſt be united, otherwiſe liberty itſelf will be in danger. When a government poſſeſſes no vigor it cannot perform the duties of its inſtitution: when it cannot take ſome of its meaſures ſecretly accountable indeed afterwards but not at the moment: the different parts muſt be united: its meaſures muſt be executed with diſpatch, and its arrangements muſt diſplay wiſdom. Nobody will be ſo bold as to ſay that the American government poſſeſſes any one of theſe advantages. The framers of our conſtitution have been called wiſe, but this production does not prove it. Let any perſon read Lock's treatiſes on government, De Lolme on the Britiſh conſtitution, Blackſtone, Monteſquieu with a few other authors who wrote before the minds of men were agitated with ſucceſſive revolutions, and compare them with the ſlimſy productions which have deluged the world ſince the American revolution, and they will be forced to confeſs, that in this ſubject, we ſeem to go back. The ancient authors appear to have ſtudied the ſubject with more accuracy, and ſaw the neceſſity of uniting liberty with other eſtimable qualities. The friends of true and rational liberty have to contend with anarchiſts on the one hand, and the ſlaves of deſpotiſm on the other; and were it not for the Britiſh government which is a practical proof of the propriety of their reaſoning, they muſt be overwhelmed. The writer is not however ſo blind an admirer

of the Britiſh conſtitution as not to be aware of ſeveral imperfections, much leſs does he think it proper to identify the miniſter for the time being with the government: He conceives a man may be a firm friend to the conſtitution and hoſtile to the miniſter's meaſures, but he thinks this hoſtility has limits, and ſhould never be ſo conducted as to raiſe murmurs or to transform oppoſition into rebellion as it has ſometimes done (the American war.) Conceiving the Britiſh the beſt practical form of government that ever exiſted, thoſe who underſtand it beſt muſt love it beſt, and ſuch will not heſitate to defend it at the hazard of their lives. In maintaining its purity, they will oppoſe any encroachment tending to arbitrary power on the one hand, or popular authority on the other. Preſerving the balance with ſteady care, they will admit no changes on either ſide without the greateſt deliberation.

NOTE VIII. p. 32.

A GOOD hiſtory of the American war is yet a deſideratum and cannot perhaps be written for ſome time to come. The following dialogue between an American and an Engliſhman, throws ſome light upon the ſubject.

A. How happens it that I never hear you praiſing the noble ſtand for freedom which we made. *E.* Becauſe I do not think that you have gained any advantage, and I am not ſatisfied of the juſtice of your cauſe. *A.* Juſtice of our cauſe! can any thing be more clear? Our property was to be taken from us without our own conſent: We reſiſted ſo vile an attempt, and we were victorious. *E.* Two wars were undertaken on your account, and the mother country called upon you for aſſiſtance: You murmured, refuſed, and left her to pay debts which ſhe had contracted on your account. *A.* But we had no repreſentatives. *E.* Was the demand ever made in an amicable manner? *A.* Yes, frequently; petitions, remonſtrances were often ſent, but in vain. *E.* How were theſe expreſſed? in language harſh and menacing. Were a perſon to come to you to aſk you to do ſomething for him, in language rude and harſh, holding a bludgeon behind his back ready to ſtrike you on a refuſal, would you grant his requeſt? My friend, your countrymen firſt murmured againſt the ſuppreſſion of the illicit trade which they carried on with the Spaniſh colonies and which government found it neceſſary to prohibit from good faith pledged in treaties, perhaps it was done in too harſh a man-

ner, but this was not ſurely a ſufficient reaſon for ſeparation. After this you were called upon to pay ſomething to defray the expences of the war: And the reſiſtance firſt proceeded from thoſe colonies which had been favoured with the freeſt conſtitution by the crown. They conceived this perhaps to be the eaſieſt mode of getting quit of their obligation. *A.* But is there no time when colonies may lay aſide their leading ſtrings and riſe up in their place among the nations of the earth? *E.* Perhaps there is: Whenever they are ſo increaſed in numbers and ſtrength as to be ſufficient by themſelves for all the good ends of a political union. Theſe are the ſentiments of a great writer. But you were not thus adequate till the French were driven out, and then you ſhould have proceeded in a very different manner. No general application for a limited repreſentation was ever made by the colonies. And did not Great Britain gradually repeal her obnoxious laws, and retain at laſt only a ſmall pittance to ſave her honour and maintain her authority. Were you ſatisfied with theſe conceſſions, did you receive them with pleaſure and proceed in modeſt petitions for the conceding of a right which was certainly doubtful? No, you roſe in a flame becauſe you did not receive, at once, your whole demand. Britain willing to humour her froward children, retraced her ſteps, and only wiſhed for a cover to give up the reſt; not that ſhe was convinced of the juſtice of your cauſe, but ſhe was averſe to bring things to extremities. When two parties diſagree about a doubtful point, mutual forbearance is expected: That Britain ſhewed this is certain—but which of the colonies ſhewed it. You ſpeak of being repreſented, the people of England are partially repreſented, and had your repreſentatives been preſent in parliament, they could not have prevented the paſſage of a ſingle act. The Americans, at that time, did not exceed three millions—the inhabitants of Great Britain were about eleven; but the proportion of taxes expected would not have been *one nineteenth* of the annual expenditure. It will eaſily be ſeen by a cloſe inſpection of dates that while you were preſenting petitions to the king, you were preparing vigorouſly not only for defenſive but offenſive war, and taking every method to vilify and to oppoſe the government from which you rebelled. But what gives me room to think your cauſe unjuſt, not one of thoſe in both houſes of parliament who brought forward meaſures of reconciliation, admitted the principles for

which you contended. How could they admit that three ſhould dictate to eleven millions. The beſt plan would have been to have had nothing to do with you and left you to yourſelves: But this could not be expected: The paſſions were raiſed on both ſides the atlantic, and reaſon was not heard; but no other mode would have anſwered. I am, in fine, of this opinion concerning the American war—That it was unwiſe in Great Britain to adopt coercive meaſures, but that the greater degree of injuſtice reſted with the colonies—That no mode of reconciliation which could have been offered would have been effectually permanent; a ſeparation muſt have enſued, for that ſpirit of democracy which now proſtrates every thing virtuous and honourable in the United States had already rendered them incapable of the moſt moderate ſubordination.

NOTE IX. p. 32.—*On the Declaration of Independence.*

ANY perſon who has converſed with Americans muſt have obſerved the veneration in which they hold the declaration of independence. This paper is valued more than Diana was by the Epheſians, and becauſe Mr. Jefferſon is ſuppoſed to have written it, the grateful States have quietly ſubmitted to his ruinous policy for eight years: A policy which has placed them in the moſt deſpicable and ridiculous ſituation. This extraordinary ſpecimen of gratitude in a people ſo much alive to their own intereſts, raiſed my curioſity to read and examine this declaration with greater care than I had ever done before, and not having any particular reſpect for its ſuppoſed author, I am willing to hazard very few remarks upon its various contents.—Were I diſpoſed to be merry, the preamble affords me a very good opportunity. The paper begins with much affected ſolemnity—"When in the courſe of human events, it becomes neceſſary for one people to diſſolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to aſſume among the powers of the earth the ſeparate and equal ſtation to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent reſpect to the opinions of mankind requires that they ſhould declare the cauſes which impel them to a ſeparation."

What does this ſage writer mean by the laws of nature and of nature's God? Are there two diſtinct codes? Are the laws of nature and the laws of the God of Nature different? This is either nonſenſe or tautology, or ſomething

worſe. Many have endeavoured to ſhew that this expreſſion proved the truth of the accuſation frequently preferred againſt the author that he was an atheiſt; but as I conceive it impoſſible for any man that thinks, to be an atheiſt: It is enough to ſhew the clauſe to be nonſenſe, and ſurely ſuch a ſpecimen in the preamble militates very much againſt the high character of the paper. The ſecond paragraph taken with a few verbal alterations from Hutchiſon's moral philoſophy aſſerts the belief of the ſubſcribers in ſeveral abſtract truths, and which taken abſtractly, nobody is diſpoſed to deny. Conſequently their ſolemn introduction in a declaration of this kind is, to ſay the leaſt, exceedingly abſurd—"We hold theſe truths to be ſelf-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights; that among theſe are life, liberty, and the purſuit of happineſs; that to ſecure theſe rights, governments are inſtituted among men, deriving their juſt powers from the conſent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes deſtructive of theſe ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to aboliſh it and to inſtitute a new government laying its foundation on ſuch principles, and organizing its powers in ſuch form as to them ſhall ſeem moſt likely to effect their ſafety and happineſs."

I have not quoted this long paſſage with a view of contradicting the ſtatement it makes, although it might be ſhewn that, admitting theſe things to be true, they are not ſelf-evident; but truſting that I am as friendly to ſolid liberty as Mr. Jefferſon, I embrace the opportunity which this paſſage, by ſtating too little, affords me of noticing an errour which all the writers on government ſince Rouſſeau have wilfully committed. They ſpeak always of rights but never of duties. Now it is evident that duties precede rights, indeed the eſtabliſhment of our rights is the reward of our duty. If man cannot live ſolitary, he muſt join himſelf to other men; by this junction they become uſeful to one another, that is they perform certain reciprocal duties, and the fruit of theſe duties is greater perſonal ſecurity; greater power over property, more comfort, and more freedom. Now this life, this liberty, this happineſs is in a manner created by ſociety, is rendered valuable by the performance of certain duties. To ſpeak therefore of liberty and happineſs as rights previous to the eſtabliſhment of ſociety is abſurd, and to ſpeak of them at all,

without proving that they flow from the performance of duty is exceedingly incorrect, and leads to the moſt terrible conſequences. To this wilful ſeparation we may attribute many exceſſes in the late revolutions. The people were always told of their rights—never of their duties. They were looſed from all reſtraint ; they thought they might ſieze every thing and do nothing. No wonder that a doctrine of this kind was popular, but its firſt propagators who knew its ſophiſtry have had no great cauſe to rejoice, for the mob have commonly aſſumed the dreadful right (for what villainous exertion of power has not been called a right) of putting them to death. The innovators in politics imitated the empirics in religion, the latter have long taught the doctrine of unconditional grace, that their followers ſhall be ſaved without doing any thing. The innovators in politics perceiving how popular this was, immediately offered liberty in its utmoſt perfection for nothing. The people had nothing to do but to enjoy.—After this clauſe which muſt deceive, for few can detect its ſophiſtry, the Declaration proceeds, "*That the hiſtory of the preſent king of Great Britain is a hiſtory of repeated injuries and uſurpations, all having in direct object the eſtabliſhment of an abſolute tyranny over the ſtates—To prove this let facts be ſubmitted to a candid world.* Then follow what are deemed the facts, but which are, in truth, only vague aſſertions. The firſt twenty-three aſſertions relate chiefly to matters previous to the war, ſome of them inſtead of being grievances may be proved to have been highly beneficial to the ſtates. Others refer to the exertion of ſuch prerogatives of the crown as it always poſſeſſed and ſtill poſſeſſes. And the remainder admit of ſuch an elucidation as would entirely prove the falſehood of the firſt aſſertion in the declaration that a ſeparation was neceſſary. To enter into a minute examination of each clauſe would be too much for a note, but ſuch a work would be uſeful : We ſhall content ourſelves with mentioning a few facts which prove the falſehood of the laſt quotation.

We mentioned, in a former note, the liberalty of Parliament in voting £. 300,000 as a compenſation to the colonies ſoon after His Majeſty's acceſſion. Was this oppreſſion ?

In the peace of 1763, the intereſts of the colonies were principally attended to. Was this oppreſſion ?

In 1764, ſome reſolutions were adopted concerning the

American trade; a year's delay was given to allow them to be canvaſſed. Was this like oppreſſion? The colonial agents were even invited to petition to be heard againſt the reſolutions, but they declined. Oppreſſion ſhould be made of ſterner ſtuff.

In 1767, ſome duties were laid upon glaſs, tin, paper, and painter's colours, imported from Great Britain into America. This was a mode of taxation admitted by the colonies and their friends; but conceſſion had now made them haughty, and they denied even this power in the Britiſh parliament. Indeed the aſſembly in New York reſolved to pay no regard to an act for providing troops with neceſſaries in their quarters, but regulated the proviſions according to their own fancy.

Theſe laſt duties having created great commotions, miniſters engaged to repeal them, and in 1770 they were all repealed except three-pence per lb. on tea. Was this oppreſſion?

In 1770, a tumult happened in Boſton between the townſpeople and the ſoldiers, in which ſome of the former were killed. The ſoldiers were inſtantly delivered up for trial and acquitted by a jury of townſ-men. Was this oppreſſion?

In 1773, the Boſtonians deſtroyed the tea, and this occaſioned the Boſton port bill, a meaſure certainly provoked by the conduct of the people of this town for ſeveral years previous to this, but which was only intended to be temporary.

In 1775, it was enacted that when any of the colonies ſhould propoſe according to their abilities to raiſe their due proportion towards the common defence, ſuch proportion to be raiſed under the authority of the aſſembly of ſuch province and to be diſpoſable by parliament, and when ſuch colony ſhould alſo engage to provide for the civil government and the adminiſtration of juſtice within ſuch province, it ſhould be proper if ſuch a propoſal ſhould be approved of by his Majeſty in parliament to forbear in reſpect to ſuch colony to levy any duties or taxes or to impoſe any further duties or taxes except ſuch as ſhould be neceſſary for the regulation of trade.

While the colonies were ſending the moſt ſpecious declarations to the Britiſh, and petitions to the king and parliament, praying for a repeal of thoſe acts which they conſidered grievous; they were buſy preparing to carry the war into Canada, and they did carry it there amidſt their pro-

ſeſſions of loyalty. The republican cant of profeſſing one thing and doing another was begun by theſe ſages, although they did not carry it ſo far as the rulers of France. The different kinds of governments eſtabliſhed in the colonies, all of them leaning too much towards democracy, left the mother country very little controul. In Maſſachuſetts ſhe had little or none, for the governor only was appointed by the king, the council and aſſembly were choſen by the people. It was the extreme mildneſs of the British governmeet and the great liberty that was allowed them that produced the revolution. Many perſons joined the rebellion from the pureſt motives, but it may be very eaſily proved that juſtice was on the ſide of Great Britain: She made conceſſions before the commencement of hoſtilities, as faſt as could be reaſonably expected.

The remainder of this famous paper blames the king for actions done after the war was begun and is ridiculous becauſe they were themſelves after this period, more active than he. In eight clauſes he is branded with a number of crimes all incident to a ſtate of war. If the war itſelf was juſt the proſecution of it could not be criminal. On the whole a critical examination of this paper is not much in its favour and had it been analyzed more minutely the falſehoods and miſrepreſentations which it contains would have appeared ſtill more groſs. It anſwered a party purpſe, inflamed the minds of the people, but to poſterity it can have no charms.

NOTE X. p. 37.

On the Conduct of the American War.

The plan adopted by the miniſtry for conducting the war was able and judicious. New York was to be the chief ſeat of military operations and a communication kept up between this city and the lakes. By this means the ſouthern and northern provinces would have been effectually ſeparated and the Britiſh commander would have had the power of preſcribing the ſcene of action and of quitting it when he choſe. But lord North committed two capital miſtakes which produced the unfortunate iſſue of the war. After coercive meaſures were determined upon, he did not ſend one ſixth of the force neceſſary and in the mean time the coloniſts were making every preparation and oppreſſing the friends of government, who remained without protection, in the moſt cruel manner. When a reſpectable force

was at length ſent ; it conſiſted chiefly of Germans, men who had no intereſt in the event and whoſe movements were ſo ſlow that they ruined every thing. But the greater blunder of the two was lord North's appointing generals to the chief command in America who were againſt him in politics and who had publicly declared that this war was unjuſt. We muſt indeed admire the principle upon which he acted as candid and generous, the noble lord ſuppoſed that although in parliament they frequently voted againſt him, yet as men of honour they would do their duty at the head of their armies. In this expectation his lordſhip was groſsly miſtaken, and it is to be lamented that generals Howe and Burgoyne did not ſuffer for their miſconduct. We muſt obſerve that lord North's liberality in this inſtance went before his unſterſtanding, for when he ſaid, it does not follow that theſe men will diſgrace themſelves abroad, becauſe they may oppoſe me at home, he reaſoned erroneouſly— Nor was he juſtified in hoping that at the head of their troops they would exert thoſe talents which they were known to poſſeſs and cruſh the rebellion. For if the noble lord had conſidered the matter rightly, he would have diſcovered that he was acting againſt the moſt direct moral evidence. When men are ſold to a party the probability is that they will remain true to that party at all hazards. The miniſter therefore ſhould have employed officers even although their talents were inferiour who conſidered Americans in arms the enemies of their country. It is notorious that general Howe ridiculed the friends of government and gave them no encouragement. The provincial regiments which joined his army were treated with the greateſt diſreſpect, inſomuch that their uniform became a badge of diſgrace.— The conſequence was that many deſerted and from being our friends became our moſt bitter foes. Thouſands were prevented from joining when they beheld the royal generals rewarding their loyalty with inſult. It was eaſier to bear the oppreſſion of enemies than contempt and poverty where they expected friendſhip and protection. It is but juſtice to general Burgoyne to ſay that in this particular he acted much more honourably than general Howe, but Lord Dorcheſter, then general Carleton, was the moſt attentive to the American loyaliſts and always treated them with the greateſt benevolence and reſpect. After all we cannot help admiring lord North's liberality in this particular, but let no ſtateſman again reduce it to practice.

NOTE XI. p. 37.

On the Prosperity of Great Britain.

THE rapid increase of the trade and commerce of Great Britain, since the American revolution, has been truly astonishing, and fully justifies the conclusion, that before that period the attention of government was too much confined to the colonies. Since 1786, the exports and imports have more than doubled. The internal improvements have proceeded with still greater activity—roads, canals, docks, public buildings, increase of towns, &c. It would be easy to make this note long. I might mention that there is in value six or seven hundred millions of insurable property in Great Britain and Ireland; that the very houses are valued at more than two hundred and seventy millions; the merchant shipping at twenty-four millions, and the revenue exclusive of loans at fifty eight millions, &c.—but I forbear entering into details. See an excellent speech on this subject by the Honourable John Richardson in 1808, on committing a bill for establishing a bank in Lower Canada.

NOTE XII. p. 37.

On the Causes of the French Revolution.

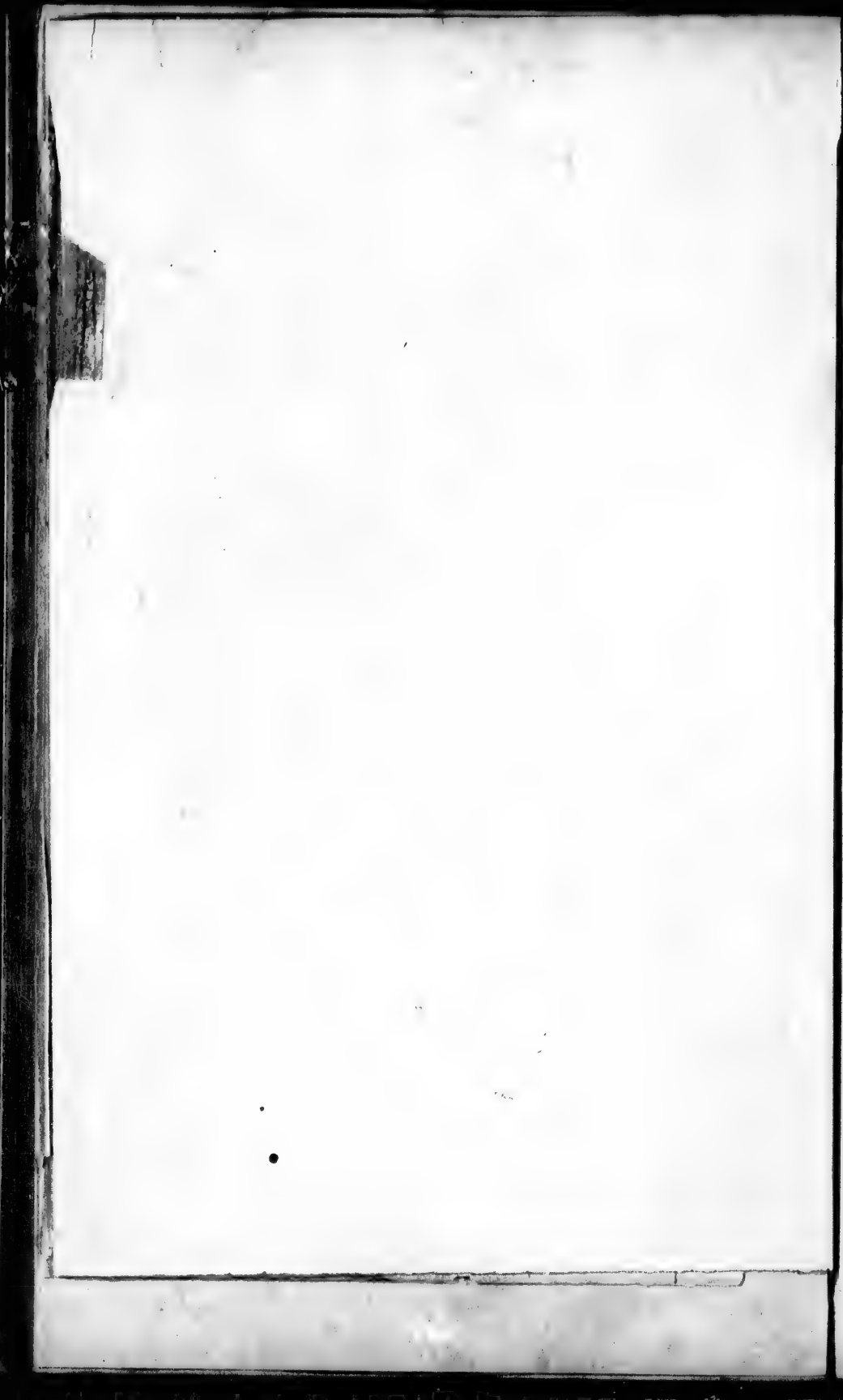
THE dreadful picture drawn by professor Robison in his book of masonic conspiracies and by the Abbé Barreul of the vast influence of the philosophists, has always appeared to me greatly exaggerated. The mass of the people could neither read nor write, and to such Voltaire and his associates wrote in vain. But though these people could not read, they could hear, and the soldiers who had served in the American war did more on their return than all the philosophists together. Moreover the Americans had been patronised by the court: the public attention was turned towards them: their declarations and motives were examined, read by those who could read, and commented upon. It was popular with the court to defend their cause and it soon became popular with the nation. The literati never had the power of commanding an attention so general as this, although they, no doubt, made use of it when it was presented. But still the exaggerated description of the happiness of America by a wounded soldier, and of the rights and privileges of its free inhabitants would make a much more lively impression than the most finished harangue.—The American was therefore the chief cause of the French revolution. Other causes, no doubt, concurred. The cor-

Lexington Ky Dec 27, 1825

My dear Miss Ficd

Although I have not seen you or heard of you for a long long time, I assure you there is no body of whom I retain a more kindly remembrance and I anxiously hope you and all your family continue. when we came to this place which I like very well I have been much taken up

came to this place which I like very well
I have been much taken up with
and I think I am coming on pretty well.
I have begun music, but as yet I can do very
little at it. There are many good schools here
but I will never forget Miss Chalmers who
might do as well as any of them.
Mrs Bertram when she comes will carry
all before her I hope. The handsome little
writing desk you gave me reminds me



ruption of the court; the oppoſition of the parliament; the miſerable ſtate of the finances; the corruption of juſtice and of religion.

The progreſs of the French revolution has been moſt extraordinary. In 1793, the French guillotined their lawful king, Louis XVI. In 18c;, they raiſed to the throne Bonaparte. It is worth the while to examine the characters of theſe two perſons, that we may be able to value the advantages of the change. Louis XVI. poſſeſſed uncommon benevolence and goodneſs of heart; ample proofs remain of his love for his people, and his earneſt deſire to promote their happineſs; no man ever ſhone more in domeſtic life, or excelled in the qualities which adorn a private ſtation. His ſentiments and directions which he addreſſed to the preceptor of his ſon, reflect on his head and heart immortal honour.—Magnify (ſaid this amiable monarch) in his eyes the virtues which conſtitute a good king, and let your leſſons be adapted to his comprehenſion. Alas, he will become one day but too ſtrongly tempted to imitate ſuch of his anceſtors as were diſtinguiſhed only by their warlike exploits; military glory dizzies the brain; and what ſpecies of glory is that which rolls its eye over ſtreams of human blood, and deſolates the univerſe? Teach him with Fenelon, that pacific princes alone are held by the people in religious remembrance. The firſt duty of a prince is to render his people happy; if he knows what it is to be a king, he will always know how to defend his people and his crown.

Teach him early to know how to pardon injuries, forget injuſtice and reward laudable actions, to reſpect morality, to be good, and to acknowledge the ſervices which are rendered him. The whole letter is in the ſame ſtrain, and conſtitutes the higheſt panegyric that can be pronounced on this amiable king. It muſt however be confeſſed, that as a public character, he wanted firmneſs and conſtancy, which diſabled him from withſtanding the ſlighteſt menace. The difficulties he had to encounter were too much, and he ſunk in the conflict. Yet the French will, one day, recal to remembrance the wrongs they have done him, and they will curſe the barbarity of the villains who durſt imbrue their ſacrilegious hands in the blood of ſo good a prince. The preſent emperour of France, the favourite and elect of the people, forms a complete contraſt to the prince whom they murdered.—Louis XVI. was put to death for his virtues, and Bonaparte raiſed to the purple for his crimes. This emperor was firſt

a lieutenant of artillery, then one of the ſpies of the police; he was made a general for marrying the caſt-off miſtreſs of his patron; poiſoned his ſick ſoldiers in Egypt; murdered his priſoners; perjured himſelf in numberleſs inſtances; ſubverted the conſtitution he had ſworn to maintain; maſſacred Capt. Wright, the Duc Enghein, Touſſaint, Pichegru, Villeneuve, and in fine, what dreadful crimes hath not this man committed? He is the betrayer of nations, and the ſcourge of the human race. In one thing he acts according to retributive juſtice; he governs the French people with a rod of iron. Under his laſh of ſcorpions, they will learn to value the peaceful monarch whom they have loſt. As a public character, he poſſeſſes abilities; but they are the abilities of a demon, always employed in promoting evil.

NOTE XIII. p. 37.

So much has been written concerning the impreſſment of Britiſh ſeamen from the ſhips of neutrals, by perſons more competent to the task, that I ſhall content myſelf with making a very few general obſervations upon this important ſubject. When this queſtion is argued upon the principles of the laws of nations, the diſputants can find no precedents, and therefore each party draws inferences from eſtabliſhed rules, which the other is unwilling to admit. It is therefore no wonder that by this mode of diſcuſſion the queſtion becomes more perplexed and obſcure. What is commonly termed the law of nations is an imperfect collection of eſtabliſhed uſages, which contemplate a very few particulars, and which from their very nature muſt be always multiplying. The moſt perfect code of laws fails to comprehend every caſe, elſe there would be no neceſſity for the enactment of new regulations every year. Yet if it ſhould be thought neceſſary to defend the conduct of the Britiſh upon this ground, it might be done with ſucceſs. The law of nations expreſsly condemns ſending arms or military ſtores by way of merchandize to either of the ſtates at war, as a breach of neutrality, and even common proviſions into a place beſieged; how much more detrimental is it to one of the belligerent powers to be deprived of her ſubjects, and thoſe the very perſons who muſt defend her? What is the uſe of ſhips of war without ſailors to man them, and where ſhall ſailors be found if a neutral ſtate encourages them to deſert. The Britiſh require only their own men. They have uniformly diſcharged all foreigners when demanded, and ſhall they be

deprived of thoſe who alone are able to defend them by a nation who pretends friendſhip? But as it cannot be denied that much vexation and inconvenience are ſuffered by America from the right of ſearch exerciſed by the Britiſh naval officers, and that the practice is not ſo beneficial to Great Britain herſelf as might be ſuppoſed, ſome arrangement of an amicable nature might be agreed on, without diſadvantage to either party. And the United States ought to be the more ready to enter into ſuch an arrangement, becauſe the queſtion iſſues in a great degree out of a policy adopted by them very different from that uſual among European nations.

Several ſtates of Europe, anxious to extend their commerce, and to render that commerce as independent as poſſible, have eſtabliſhed navigation acts, by which a certain proportion of the crews of all their merchant ſhips muſt be natives. Foreigners, in conſequence of this regulation, have rather been diſcouraged than invited; and when war happens between Britain and any of her neighbours, the ſmall number of her ſailors to be found in the ſervice of a neutral nation hardly merits attention. Beſides the difference of manners and languages, the ſmall wages and coarſe proviſions given by the continental powers of Europe to their ſeamen, effectually prevent Britiſh ſailors from leaving their own country.

All theſe checks are removed in reſpect to the United States; the wages are greater than the Britiſh merchant can well afford, the proviſions equally good, and the manners and language nearly the ſame; and inſtead of any preference being given to natives, the preference will often be given to the Britiſh ſailor from his greater experience. The general policy of America ſeems to be to detain her own citizens at home, and to navigate her ſhips chiefly by foreigners. This policy however proceeds not from any ſuperiour wiſdom in her government, but from her ſituation. The melancholy wars which have agitated Europe, have increaſed her trade in a moſt aſtoniſhing degree; and although the natural increaſe of her population has been prodigious, it was next to impoſſible for her to meet the demands of her increaſing trade by an adequate ſupply of native ſeamen. Now as great numbers of Britiſh ſailors have been employed in the ſhips of the United States during the laſt and the preſent war, after they had been publicly recalled for the defence of their native country; it would have ſurely been proper for the American government, when it propoſed to Great Britain to

relinquiſh the right of ſearch, to accompany this novel propoſition with ſuch arrangements as would make her no loſer by its ſuſpenſion or relinquiſhment. That American merchant veſſels ſhould be an aſylum for British ſailors at all times, even when their own country is in the utmoſt danger and no means of redreſs offered, is a demand in itſelf ſo exceedingly unjuſt, and carries in its appearance ſo much of hoſtility and perverſeneſs, as cannot fail to ſtrike moſt forcibly every perſon of diſcernment. The language of America to Great Britain ought to have been very conciliating upon this ſubject, The difficulty of always diſtinguiſhing individuals ſhould have been frankly acknowledged, and the moſt ſolemn aſſurances ſhould have been given that every Britiſh ſeaman would be promptly given up on application to the neceſſary authority, and that laws for this purpoſe ſhould be expreſsly enacted. An arrangement on this ſubject is attended, I am ſenſible, with great difficulty ; but had it been undertaken in the ſpirit of amity, it might have been adjuſted in a manner agreeable to both nations. And ſurely America ought to have been very delicate in requiring a favourable deciſion of a queſtion that can hardly ariſe between any two nations except the Britiſh and their children. Yet ſo little has this conteſted point been diſcuſſed in the ſpirit of liberality, that the American government demands it as a right that Britiſh ſailors ſhall not be taken from their private ſhips, and they aſſert that it is their due from the eſtabliſhed laws of nations. To found a claim upon laws in which it was never contemplated, and which are completely againſt it in as far as they can be applied, is not very judicious and convincing, and therefore on this ground Great Britain very properly refuſes its admiſſion.

After all, I do not think this queſtion a ſufficient cauſe of hoſtility ; it is not yet too late to enter into an amicable arrangement ; and as it can only be a matter of diſpute in time of war, this ſhould render the negociators the more diſpoſed to come to a ſettlement. I am aware that partial intereſts enter too much into modern politics, and that in making treaties excluſive commercial advantages are more ſought after than the ſolid benefits which reſult from a more liberal policy. But if there ever was a time for two nations intimately connected with each other, to lay aſide their jealouſies, it is now, when a tyrant has appeared with immenſe power, who is eſſentially the enemy of both. Thoſe who are acquainted with the proſtitution of American protections,

and how cheaply they may be obtained, will see with me the necessity of new regulations in this particular, as the beginning of an amicable arrangement, for it has long been notorious that these protections are procured in the most nefarious manner. Not that the general government of the United States can always be blamed for the improper conduct of its officers; but certainly it behoves that government to remedy the evil by a stricter enquiry into the pretensions of those who demand protection, and never to grant them without the clearest proof that the claimants are native Americans.—If this were done as a previous step to all arrangements on the subject of search, it would evince a desire on the side of the American government to meet the British half way, and that they had no wish to detain our seamen, but only to escape the vexation of a search. After taking this preliminary step, they might adopt other regulations, which by securing her mariners to Great Britain, might induce her to concede the point in dispute. This might be done,

1st. By a navigation act;

2. By subjecting those who employ British seamen to a heavy penalty, when Great Britain is at war;

3. By readily giving up such seamen as shall still be discovered, on proper evidence being given that they are British subjects.

If a general navigation act should be thought disadvantageous to such a new country as the United States, as might be easily proved, the other modes strictly executed would be sufficient; and what prevents these and similar or better regulations from being adopted, but want of cordiality in the administration of the United States? Those who have read Mr. Munroe's able defence of himself for signing the treaty with Great Britain, will find that an informal arrangement respecting the impressment of seamen, was at the same time concluded, although there was no article respecting it in the treaty itself; how the American government rejected that arrangement is not easy to explain—certainly the British ministry made a very liberal concession. I am afraid that a want of sincerity will be discovered on the part of the American government in regard to that treaty, of which neither their own ambassadours nor the British ministry were aware. They seem to have had no desire to settle any thing finally, but to remain on the watch, ready to extort concessions from Great Britain at every favourable moment; that is, when she appeared unsuccessful, or hard pressed in the contest in which

she is engaged. This is a short-sighted policy, and is sure to engender hatred instead of friendship. No treaty can be solid unless both parties are equally pleased with the stipulations. When one takes advantage of another to extort conditions, these conditions will be violated as soon as opportunity serves. The page of history exhibits no cause of war so absurd, as that which is likely to produce a rupture between American and Great Britain.

Nations commonly quarrel on account of injuries done to their own subjects, and not for the protection of deserters, or to say the best, despicable wretches, who have the meanness to leave their country in a crisis of extraordinary peril. Let the American people only consider the matter seriously; suppose they have ten thousand British seamen in their employ, the detention of whom produces a war—is it not evident that in a few months a greater number than this of their own citizens may fall in the contest? Setting aside then the havoc that will be made of their towns, the vast expenses that they will incur, the loss of lives will be infinitely more distressing, than all the advantage they can possibly derive from detaining the mariners of their enemy. Add to this, that British seamen would be dangerous to them in case of war. Few men can so far divest themselves of their *amor patriæ* as not to have some leaning towards the place of their birth, where their friends and those they love still remain; they might therefore do their protectors serious injury at the most critical moment. How much better to give up these seamen—will it be said by the Americans, we care little for the men, but we must resist the search: it may be answered, that the search would be very rare, were it certain that no British seamen could be found. Much may be lost and nothing gained by detaining these seamen: and the more the subject is considered, the more shall we be convinced of the propriety of a liberal and speedy arrangement.—The absence of foreigners would make no sensible diminution in the extent of American commerce, and the source of contention between Great Britain and the United States would be laid asleep.

NOTE XIV. p. 36.

I HAVE been frequently annoyed by an observation, which seems to gain ground with persons of sense and discernment, but which I conceive to be totally without foundation, that till Great Britain fall, America is secure. In

this aſſertion it is taken for granted, that the independence of the United States will ſurvive that of Great Britain. Now I am of a very different opinion, for I think it may be eaſily proved, that the liberty of our mother country is placed on a much firmer baſis than that of the American States, and that a continuation of the ſame ruinous policy adopted by Mr. Jefferſon, will in four years more deſtroy their conſtitution. I begin with aſſerting that Great Britain is in no danger from the preſent war; the time of invading her with any proſpect of ſucceſs is paſt. Every perſon knows, that the inhabitants of the British empire are ſoldiers to a man; that the regular army is numerous and well diſciplined, and what is an hoſt in itſelf, the nation is convinced of the neceſſity of the war. Had the French effected a landing before the volunteer ſyſtem attained its perfection, they might have done much miſchief; but even then they muſt have failed in their object—Buonaparte would not find it ſuch an eaſy matter to bribe men of influence in England, as he has done on the continent of Europe. The British nobility, certainly the moſt deſerving in the world, have not yet learned to barter their honour for gold; nor does the army and navy contain a ſingle officer capable of deſerting the cauſe which he has ſworn to defend. In comparing Great Britain with France, people are apt to be ſtruck with the great conqueſts of the latter, and her numerous armies; they look at her trampling upon the liberties of all Europe, and they tremble for England without a friend; but they ſhould remember that if France be ſtrong on land, Great Britain is equally ſo at ſea; and that her navy is more likely to maintain its ſuperiority than the armies of her enemy. The more that Buonaparte extends his dominions, the weaker he becomes, unleſs we are to ſuppoſe that the nations he deprives of their independence, and ruins by his exactions, become more attached to his perſon and government. It is contrary to rational logic to infer, that becauſe the French have overrun the neighbouring nations, they will be able to keep them long in ſubjection. Their ſucceſs has been owing hitherto more to their policy than their power, to the intereſted views and irreſolute conduct of the governments over which they have triumphed; but more eſpecially to that ſcene of corruption and treachery, never equalled in any former age, which made their conqueſts in Germany, Pruſſia and Italy very eaſy. Theſe things will change; repeated oppreſſions will rouſe men of ſpirit and virtue to vindicate

the cauſe of their country. How much theſe may effect appears from the example of the inhabitants of Spain. How inſignificant the French would be, had the people a few men of conduct and abilities to direct their juſt indignation.—Such men will appear; the preſent torpour that pervades the conquered nations will not always continue. The French empire therefore, in appearance ſtrong, is in reality weak; the preſent ruler may, by his ſingular talents, hold the diſcordant parts a little longer together; he may be able to preſerve it during his life, becauſe he has no regard to any right human or divine, when they ſeem to ſtand in the way of his views; but at his death the whole fabric will crumble. On the other hand, Great Britain depends not on the life of any individual; her power is deep rooted, and has been growing for ſeveral centuries. With a conſtitution well defined, and ſubjects willing to obey, ſhe governs entirely by the laws, unacquainted with the violence practiſed by her adverſary. She calls upon her people to arm, not to gratify her ambition, or a foolish paſſion for empty glory, but to protect the deareſt rights that men can enjoy; to ſecure their freedom and independence. We are indeed told by many well meaning perſons, that she must fall becauſe her power depends upon commerce; and to confirm this poſition they cite all the commercial nations of antiquity. It would lead me too far from my preſent purpoſe to enter minutely into the queſtion, whether a nation be more independent that reſts upon commerce or upon agriculture, though the reſult of ſuch a diſcuſſion, when carefully made, would end much more in favour of commerce than is apprehended; but in ſpeaking of Great Britain, it is not neceſſary to examine this queſtion, becauſe she is not a commercial nation in the ſame ſenſe with the ſtates of Holland in modern time, or Tyre and Carthage in ancient. Her commerce reſts upon an agricultural baſis; she unites the advantages of both; her lands are the beſt cultivated in Europe, and ſhe carries on the moſt extenſive trade. In her hands commerce and agriculture mutually aſſiſt one another; they contribute all their advantages and few of their evils. If the enemy therefore ſhould ſucceed in curtailing her commerce, ſhe is not vanquished, and he weakens himſelf in the attempt much more than he does her. I might proceed to mention ſeveral other advantages which Great Britain poſſeſſes over her adverſary, and the many difficulties which a new and oppreſſive government like that of France has to encounter; but I proceed

to shew that America is in much greater danger than Great Britain.

It was neceſſary to prove that Great Britain ſtood at leaſt on as firm ground as France previous to our illuſtration of the danger of America.

The danger of America, though uniform in its nature, will be more immediately connected with the ſtate of things in Europe.

1ſt. It may ariſe from the continuance of the preſent war.

2. From a peace taking place among the belligerent powers.

3. From a new ſyſtem of things ariſing on the continent, of which there is a great probability.

4. From the humiliation of England, which God avert.

It ought to be premiſed, that I argue upon the preſumption that the ſame ſyſtem will be continued in America which has directed her government for theſe eight years paſt. I ſhall not ſpeak at preſent of the weakneſs of the general government, the jarring intereſts of the different ſtates, nor the two factions in which the inhabitants appear to be divided. But I do not omit them as unimportant, on the contrary they will increaſe the danger of the country and accelerate its iſſue. The poſition of America in reſpect to the powers at war is at preſent moſt perplexing—they are neither the friends of France nor of England and juſtly ſuſpected by both. As the French have domineered over the continent of Europe, and deprived the Britiſh of many commercial advantages, the latter will look around for new friends in more happy climates, to replace thoſe they have loſt. It would have been natural for them to have looked to the United States, inhabited by their children, but there they have been repulſed; they find among them the ſame oppoſition that they have met with in Europe, with leſs fairneſs; indeed they are deprived of their ſeamen, the very ſinews of war, by forged protections and baſe colluſions, and their ſtaple articles of trade refuſed admittance with more ſeverity than they are from the ports of open enemies. It is not therefore in the States that they muſt open new ſources of trade. They find nothing but enmity, where they might have expected friendſhip. The conſequence of this is evident, Great Britain will find it her intereſt to nouriſh rivals in trade to the States; for this purpoſe ſhe will cheriſh the government of the Brazils by every method she can deviſe. She will aſſiſt the States of Spaniſh America to throw off their allegiance to their mother country, ſhould it be con-

quered. Theſe immenſe countries will leave her little to regret for the loſs of the trade to the United State, and all this may be accompliſhed in a very short time, even before the repeal of the interdicting laws, if they be continued till the cauſes which are ſaid to have given riſe to them are done away. Great Britain will alſo, in all probability, acknowledge the independence of St. Domingo, and ſupply herſelf with the cotton from that island and the Brazils, which she was wont to take from the ſouthern States. Moreover the policy of America does more to ruin her trade than France and England together: it will be found that the repeal of her reſtrictive laws will not renew her trade to the ſame extent. The British Planters diſcovering, by ſad experience, the ruinous conſequence of depending upon America for proviſions, will in future ſet apart more ground to raiſe them, and the American merchant will in vain offer his flour and pork for ſale, after the inhabitants of the islands have learned to do without them, or to be ſatisfied with what they can procure from the British provinces, Brazil, and the Spaniſh main.

The conſequence of theſe checks upon trade will exaſperate the people of the United States againſt their rules, for reducing them by their erroneous meaſures into ſuch a dilemma, when the remedy is not to be procured. The country will be filled with diſcontent; diſcontent breeds faction, and the realm will dwindle into ſeperate governments, which will be the more bitter enemies that they were once friends.

II. Should a peace take place among the belligerent powers, the danger of America will increaſe. It is evident that during the ſtruggles that have agitated the old continent, this infant nation has paid no regard to any thing but its own intereſt; its policy has ever been to derive advantage from the quarrels of Europe, without much regard to juſtice or honour. That ſuch has been the caſe even in regard to France, appears from the St. Domingo trade, ſo long perſiſted in after the rebellion of that Iſland againſt the mother country. But although individuals may have given cauſe of offence to France, we muſt confeſs that the adminiſtration has been ſufficiently compliant. The Mandates of Bonaparte have been obeyed implicitly by the preſent rulers of America; they have indeed found it neceſſary to qualify and ſoften their mode of expreſſion, but the Spirit has ſtill been retained. It always happens, however, that when a nation loſes ſight of its independence and ceases to act on equal

terms, when it appears afraid to infiſt upon its juſt rights, and chuſes rather to give up thoſe that appear trifling than to contend, it is ſoon made to yield all its rights, or fight after its ſpirit is debaſed. This happened with America—the more she yields, the more is demanded. Does she concede one point to France, another kept in reſerve is immediately brought forward. The conquerour of Europe will quarrel with America, becauſe she will not go all the length that he wishes her. She has trampled upon her own constitution, in order to pleaſe him; but becauſe she has not declared war againſt Great Britain, a meaſure which her ruler durſt not hazard, this deſpot is offended and inſults, her envoy. To be kicked and buffeted about even to give him money for lands of an indefinite or purpoſely of an ambiguous extent, or to give him money without even a shadow of an equivalent, were riſks which the preſent administration were prepared to go, and which they have aſſumed—but this is not enough. Buonaparte demands them to declare war againſt England; they heſitate, he confiſcates their goods; the non importation law, the Embargo itſelf is not enough, they muſt declare openly; they muſt obey his fiat without a murmur or qualification, and as they have not done this, deſtruction awaits them. That France would willingly contribute to the downfall of America, cannot admit of any doubt; it would be even good policy in her to check this growing republic, to prevent a navy from being formed, or a more vigorous general government: it would be good policy in her to aſſiſt in diſmembering ſtates which, united, might check her conqueſts and give valuable aid to her enemies. But as each of the particulars from which the danger of America ariſes, would ſupply materials for a long note, I muſt be short.

What motives can Great Britain have for treating America with more lenity than France? to the latter she has been compliant without acquiring her friendship, to the former she has been a ſnake in the graſs; ever complaining, never ſatisfied. Inſtead of adopting a ſincere ſpirit of conciliation, she has been at all times taking advantage of her diſtreſſes, to make new demands; she has refuſed redreſs for an inſult, though offered on the faireſt grounds; she has shut her ports to British manufactures; she has endavoured to ſtarve her remaining colonies, and she has in demanding an alteration of the maritime law, virtually joined herſelf with the enemies of the British empire.

She has even gone the length of rejecting a treaty, advantageous to herſelf, that she might be ready to catch at every advantage, and to come in for a share of the ſpoil on her ſubjugation. Great Britain, after ſuch a long train of hoſtile meaſures, cannot have any ſtrong motives to guarantee her independence. She can have no reaſons ſufficiently cogent as to riſk a renewal of the war with France, should the deſpot wish to chaſtiſe America; on the contrary it will be as much the intereſt of Britain as of France, to diſmember the government; becauſe this will render it impoſſible, in any future war, for a general embargo or non importation law to be enacted. Moreover Great Britain will have other reſources and her Weſt India iſlands will no longer depend upon ſupplies from the United States. A peace between France and England, after America had put an end to all friendly relations with the latter, would therefore be the prelude of her deſtruction. She would have nothing to depend upon but the moderation and juſtice of Buonaparte, virtues of which his conqueſts of Switzerland and Spain are terrible examples.

III. From a new ſyſtem of things ariſing on the continent. Any change on the continent of Europe muſt now be for the advantage of Great Britain, and that ſome very important changes muſt ſoon happen, is I think demonſtrable. In that caſe Great Britain will finish her European conteſt with honour, or it will require leſs vigilance. She will therefore have more leiſure to attend to her relations with America, and diſcovering that she has been inſulted, she may think it requiſite to revenge her injuries; nor will she be prevented by any European ſtate—Spain is irritated againſt the United States, France is jealous of their growing power. And let no one ſuppoſe that becauſe Great Britain was unſucceſsful in the revolutionary war, that she muſt ſtill be ſo. Her plans would be very different, ſhe would never ſeek for conqueſt; she would ruin American commerce, and prevent even a fishing-boat from plying along the coaſt. In fine, it would appear that America had made herſelf many enemies but no friends, many who deſire to ſee her humbled, and who look upon her proſperity with an evil eye.

NOTE XV. p. 36.

On the American Government.

THE people are always in a ferment about elections; they have repreſentatives, but the period for which they are elect-

ed is ſo short, that you may reckon many of the ſtates, and the whole combined, one short removal from a pure democracy. Now any perſon, who has examined this form of government, will find that the tyranny exerciſed by the people, deaſe and corrupt as much as the ſword of the deſpot. In a short time morals, religion and juſtice are gone, and neither the ſpirit, nor even the deſire of liberty is found. Can any thing elſe be expected, when the government is directed by the paſſions of the people, and the vices and ambition of their demagogues. And theſe men, by keeping up empty forms and empty names, will rivet their chains upon the people, before they are aware. Shall I be told that corruption may be reſtrained by wiſe, upright and religious magiſtrates, to be choſen by the people: very fine---theſe qualifications are inimical to their promotion; the people do not like moral principles, religious profeſſions, &c. The mob, or as Spencer ſays, the blatant beaſt, will gather round a leader who will flatter its appetites, and not one who deſires to keep it within bounds.

Him in a narrow place he overtooke,
And fierce aſſailing forſt him turne againe;
Sternly he turn'd again, when he him ſtrooke
With his ſharpe ſteele, and ran at him amaine
With open mouth, that ſeemed to containe
A full good pecke within the utmoſt brim,
All ſet with yron teeth in ranges twaine,
That terrifide his foes, and armed him
Appearing like the mouth of Orcus griefly grim.

And therein were a thouſand tongues empight
Of ſundry kindes and ſundry quality;
Some were of dogs, that barked day and night,
And ſome of cats, that wrawling ſtill did cry,
And ſome of beares, that grovn'd continually,
And ſome of tygres, that did ſeeme to gren,
And ſnar at all that ever paſſed by;
But moſt of them were tongues of mortal men,
Which ſpake reproachfully, not caring where nor when.

And them amongſt were mingled here and there
The tongues of ſerpents with three-forked ſtings,
That ſpat out poyſon and gore, bloody gore,
At all that came within his ravenings,
And ſpake licentious words and hatefull things
Of good and bad alike, of low and hie;
Ne keſars ſpared he a whit nor kings,
But either blotted them with infamee,
Or bit them with his banefull teeth of iniury.

Spen. Fairy Queen, book 6, canto 12.

This beaſt will obey his keeper who pleaſes him with ſops and ſtrokes his back and fight, rob, murder, burn and ſteal in his cauſe. That there are many good laws and regulations in the United States will not be denied, but of what uſe are laws if not properly adminiſtered? To the men who rule the ſtates at preſent, the following paſſage from Mr. Fox's hiſtory may be very properly applied.

"The reign of Charles the Second forms one of the moſt "ſingular, as well as of the moſt important periods of hiſto-"ry. It is the era of good laws and bad government. The "abolition of the court of wards, the repeal of the writ de "heretico comburendo, the triennial parliament bill, the eſ-"tablishment of the rights of the houſe of commons in re-"gard to impeachment, the expiration of the licenſe act, "and above all, the glorious ſtatute of habeas corpus, have "therefore induced a modern writer of great eminence to fix "the year 1679 as the period at which our conſtitution had "arrived at its greateſt theoretical perfection, but he owns "in a short note on the paſſage alluded to, that the times im-"mediately following, were times of great practical oppreſ-"ſion. What a field for meditation does this short obſerva-"tion from ſuch a man, furnish! What reflections does it "not ſuggeſt to a thinking mind, upon the inefficacy of hu-"man laws and the imperfection of human conſtitutions! "We are called from the contemplation of the progreſs of "our conſtitution, and our attention is fixed with the moſt "minute accuracy to a particular point, when it is ſaid to "have riſen to its utmoſt perfection. Here we are then at "the beſt moment of the beſt conſtitution that human wiſ-"dom ever framed. What follows? A time of oppreſſion "and miſery, not ariſing from external cauſes, ſuch as war, "peſtilence or famine, nor even from any ſuch alteration of "the laws as might be ſuppoſed to impair this boaſted per-"fection, but from a corrupt and wicked adminiſtration, "which all the ſo much admired checks of our conſtitution "were not able to prevent. How vain then, how idle, how "preſumptuous is the opinion that laws can do every thing! "and how weak and pernicious the maxim founded upon it, "that meaſures, not men, are to be attended to."

NOTE XVI. p. 36.

On Baring's pamphlet and neutral rights.

THOSE who have written againſt the navigation laws, and argued for their relaxation, proceed upon the principle of

cold calculation, and give nothing to national honour or defence. If trade be every thing, and national honour nothing, then their arguments may be admitted. But these relaxations are always sure of protracting the war, and are the continual cause of embarrassments. The pamphlet published by Mr. Baring has obtained a degree of celebrity which I have no power to diminish, but the impression that the perusal of it left upon my mind, was the same as that which we feel in reading that the Dutch supplied Louis XIV. with military and naval stores, because the prices he paid yielded enormous profits, although they were employed in conquering and enslaving their country. In regard to the orders in council, I had doubts as to their expediency, but these doubts are shewn to have been ill founded by the recent accounts from the enemy; indeed men of all political parties now admit, that they have effected the end proposed. In condemning the orders in council, Mr. Baring takes a much wider field, and deprecates, with great severity, our policy towards the states, which he says has originated in partial views, is grossly unjust, and highly detrimental to ourselves.

In proving these different positions, he begins with endeavouring to weaken the statements of the patriotic authour of War in Disguise, and brings forward several reasons and facts to prove that the commerce of America with the colonies of the enemy is conducted bona fide. That a writer pretending to discuss a subject which few have an opportunity of understanding, or of calling in question the facts which he brings forward, should sometimes exaggerate and draw stronger inferences from his reasons than they seem to admit, may frequently be expected in political disputes, more especially when the authour is interested in the discussion. But that any person should make such a broad assertion, as that the commerce of America with the colonies of the enemy is conducted bona fide, requires a degree of boldness which few possess.

The Americans exclaim, and Mr. Baring very generously exclaims with them, What right have you to interrupt our trade with the colonies of your enemies. We are at peace with Spain, France and Holland, and surely we have the same right to trade with their colonies as with themselves, and to convey the produce of these colonies to any market that we please. Is it necessary for us, because these nations are enemies to the British, that we should also break up our friendship with them? Have they not as much power to regulate our communication with their colonies as with any of

their own ports? And if we obſerve the ſtipulations agreed upon, it becomes a lawful trade, and is the greateſt injuſtice and tyranny in the Britiſh to ſtop it.

The friend of Great Britain does not find much difficulty in overturning this reaſoning. You have a right to trade as neutrals, he would ſay, with our enemy to as great an extent as before the war, and to that extent we never diſturb you. But your trade with the colonies of the enemy is not of that deſcription. It is not a mark of his friendſhip, but of our power. Were it not for our navy, you never would have obtained it, and the enemy makes uſe of you to eſcape from us. By your interference, the proceeds of the colonies become an effective branch of his forces. This we cannot ſuffer. His admitting you to trade with his colonies in time of war to a much greater extent than in time of peace, is legal between you and him, but between us and you it is a groſs fraud, and out of this fraud no right can poſſibly flow. It is notorious that our enemies never open their colonies till they can no longer protect them, or keep a regular communication with them; to trade, therefore, ſo as to ſupply the enemy, is a fraud, becauſe it weakens and deſtroys our belligerent rights. I allow all that ever was allowed till the enemy had nothing left to allow or refuſe. You may ſupply your home conſumption by your direct trade with thoſe colonies; you may trade with ſuch as were open to you before the war: I reſtrict, I abridge no legitimate right of American commerce.

This reaſoning I hold to be unanſwerable in point of juſtice. All the means which Great Britain has to attack and ſubdue her antagoniſt, and finally to preſcribe peace ſafe and honourable, are all naval means. She has therefore a right, the ſacred right of ſelf-preſervation, to uſe them in time of war as far as may be neceſſary: for ſurely ſhe has a better right to exiſt than neutrals have to trade. The fairneſs of the rule of 1756 is allowed by Mr. Baring in the following paſſage:

"If we had maintained and defended this doctrine boldly "and fairly againſt all nations, good arguments in favour of "it could not at leaſt be wanting; but when we have uni- "formly relaxed it, and indeed forborne to claim it, can it "be conſiſtent either with magnanimity or good policy, to "bring it forward now, merely becauſe the only remaining "neutral has a defenceleſs commerce? If ſuch cowardly in- "juſtice is to be one of our reſources in theſe trying times,

" when elevation of ſentiment and of national character is " more than ever wanted, the means and ſtrength of this " powerful empire are indeed ſtrangely miſunderſtood."

The candid admiſſion in the beginning of this paſſage is a kind of ſweetning to the ſeverity of the concluſion. Here Mr. Baring admits that good arguments in favour of the rule of 1756 could not be wanting, but he ſoon after condemns this rule with the name of cowardly injuſtice. As ſoon as we attempt its application what inconſiſtency! But if the rule was ever juſt in principle, no conduct of ours could alter this juſtice, and although the uncommon preſſure of particular ſeaſons might force us to acquieſce in the injuſtice of other nations, it is ſurely not inconſiſtent with virtue to repel this injuſtice as ſoon as it is in our power. The reaſon which this writer alleges for our bringing it forward merely becauſe the only remaining neutral has a defenceleſs commerce, might well excuſe ſome indignation in reply; but from this we ſhall abſtain. The partial relaxations of this rule were never willingly admitted; and the ſituation of the world is now very different from what it was in any former war. Before the war which ended in 1763, Great Britain was not poſſeſſed of the indiſputable ſovereignty of the ſeas, while there was a ſort of equilibrium, ſhe had it not in her power to enforce the principles of maritime law, however juſt. So long as France was able to take Britiſh colonies, or to obſtruct Britiſh trade, or protect and convoy her own, ſhe was not obliged to ſell the produce of her colonies to neutrals to ſo great an extent as ſhe has been under the neceſſity of doing ever ſince 1795. To France the aſſiſtance of neutrals is neceſſary, for without theſe ſhe could draw no aid from her colonies; beſides, the preſent ſituation of affairs ariſes in a great meaſure out of the independence of America, for the rule here complained of was enforced againſt the Dutch and other neutral nations before that event. While the United States were the colonies of Great Britain, and during their revolution, France had fleets to protect her own colonies, and ſhe had merchant ſhips to tranſport their rich products to Europe; but ſince the independence of America circumſtances have changed. France has not even a ſloop or ſchooner employed in her colonial commerce; ſhe is reduced to abſolute nullity by the Britiſh navy, as to all the reſources which ſhe once drew from her colonies. And is this triumph of the Britiſh navy to be marred by the interference of neutrals? Will any perſon ſay that this ſervice is not an

important one, that the British navy, by distressing, humbling and enfeebling her enemy does nothing; that by putting a stop to all intercourse between the enemy and his colonies, which may prove perhaps ultimately decisive of the war, by its influence on the comparative force of the two nations, is of no avail; that it hurts Great Britain herself, and that she ought to allow their communication to be restored. When the matter is stated in this way, its absurdity fully appears; every pound received by France from her colonies, would be employed against Great Britain. Nor are we to forget that the British colonies thrive essentially by the exclusion of their rivals from the European markets, and the British commerce is even augmented by the circuitous and expensive supplies which France ultimately receives. Having thus seen the advantage resulting to Great Britain from the practise of this principle, let us reverse the matter, and suppose with Mr. Baring, that she ought to extinguish the rule. What follows? First, let us ask of what use or efficacy is her navy in the prosecution of the war, so far as the colonies of her enemies are concerned? America now independent, full of enterprise and capital, with more than a million tons of shipping, can buy in the islands, store in the United States, and transport to neutral ports in Europe, convenient for the supply of France herself, every hogshead of sugar and every bag of coffee that can be furnished by the plantations, on such terms that the French colonies shall not feel the war. They shall not be annoyed by the British naval arms, but shall even flourish the more by their superiority, depending solely on neutrals; they shall lose nothing by captures, because having sold their produce, they risk nothing; while British produce is liable to capture, and if not captured to high war premiums. The French colonist would ultimately, if not immediately, command a price for his crops the more advantageous by reason of the cheap and safe navigation of the American vessels; he would prosper in full peace, while the British colonist would feel the effects of war on his profits. His only market would be England, because he would be undersold on the continent. The seamen withdrawn from the French colonial commerce would be, as in fact they are, on board their men of war or in their armies; and the resources of the colonies would be steadily and without dimunition by capture, drawn by France into her own territory, and be employed to equip flotillas to carry armies of invasion against England.

Theſe conſequences do not alarm Mr. Baring. He calculates the profit which might accrue to Great Britain by admitting this circuitous trade to proceed without interruption. He tells us that the Americans come to us to purchaſe articles to be exchanged for produce with the colonies of the enemy, that their own profits are in a great meaſure laid out with us, and thus life and ſpirit are given to our manufactures. But if the ſame trade adds millions to the reſources of the enemy, and enables him to continue the conteſt, when ſhall war be ended. Or if he is enabled to continue the war one or two years longer, ſurely the loſs of treaſure and blood for that ſhort time, more than counterbalances the profit, though it were much greater than this writer ſtates it to be.

Mr. Baring uniformly proves himſelf to be the diligent defender of America; he tells us that she never took any part in the extravagant pretenſions of the northern powers, at whoſe courts she had even no accredited miniſters, and that her complaints of the ſyſtem of vexation and oppreſſion practiſed towards her commerce ſince 1805, are but too well founded. Is he ignorant of the famous reſolutions propoſed to congreſs in 1794, by Mr. Madiſon, amounting, in effect, to a diſcontinuance of commerce between Great Britain and the ſtates, in which he was aſſiſted by Mr. Jefferſon; and has he never ſeen Mr. Madiſon's pamphlet on the maritime rights of Great Britain, in which he maintains all the pretenſions of the northern powers, or, in fact, that she has no right; that the ocean is free to all; that neutrals may trade as they pleaſe, and in fine, that free bottoms make free goods. What period would there be to a war between France and England, were commerce placed upon theſe principles? Is it not manifeſt that all the diſadvantages would belong to Britain, and all the benefits to her enemy? How is she to maintain her independence without her navy? and how can she uſe this navy againſt the enemy, if she admit any free communication between him and his colonies, by means of neutrals? Is Mr. Baring ignorant that the ruling party in America have long endeavoured to interrupt the commerce that ſubſiſts between them and Great Britain? That the preſident is pledged by his own publications, not to make peace with England until conceſſions are admitted that will deſtroy her naval power? This man may proceed with money calculations, and he may, by figures, prove that Great Britain, with immenſe wealth and ſkill, even under every relaxation pleaded for, would ſtill preſerve her ſupe-

riority ; but can he prove that she would be able to maintain it long? Would not other nations rival her in trade, oppreſſed as she would neceſſarily be with maintaining her fleet and army, to ſecure her independence? Her commerce and manufactures would gradually decline, becauſe other nations would ſell cheaper ; this would happen gradually, but it would not be the leſs ſure, though it might not be perceptible at firſt. But away with this cold calculation ; the queſtion is not about navigation profits, it concerns our ſecurity and exiſtence as a nation.

In ſpeaking of American diſcontents, he wiſhes to prove that they have ariſen from provocation on the part of our country, as bitter and irritable as ever was ſuffered by one ſtate from another. The provocation, he ſays, was nothing leſs than a ſudden general ſweeping, by the cruizers of this country, of all American veſſels that were ſailing to France and its dependencies, in the courſe of their accuſtomed allowed trade in the year 1805, without any previous proclamation or notice. Alas, poor England! thy moſt favoured children arraign thee for diſcovering a fraud and boldly puniſhing it. The farce of landing and inſtantly reloading the produce of the enemy, ſometimes giving a bond which was never afterwards paid, having been diſcovered, the fraud was ſtopped. The people of America were irritated ; they were irritated by the loſs they had actually ſuſtained, and more at the diſcovery of their fraud. Some among them, however, admitted the juſtice of the captures, and never attempted to juſtify, as Mr. Baring has done, a ſpecies of trade which every body in America knew to be in a great meaſure a cloak to ſend home the colonial produce to the enemy. Beſides, the people of America are always more enraged againſt British captures than againſt thoſe of France and Spain, from the rule of calculation : France and Spain can take very few of their ships, for they have very few cruizers on the ocean ; the danger from them, therefore, cannot be very great ; but when British ships begin to capture, they tremble for all their ships—for where can they go that Britain cannot take them?

This queſtion is, however, laid aſleep for the preſent, by the capture of all the enemy's colonies ; but I thought it right to enter my proteſt againſt the ſpecious reaſoning contained in Mr. Baring's pamphlet. He keeps every cauſe of diſpute between Great Britain and America out of ſight, except the capture of their veſſels ; he does not mention their

pretenſions about ſeamen, ſo hoſtile in their nature, and ſo dangerous to our independence. He does not ſay that we have endeavoured to conciliate them, but in vain; that their avarice is inſatiable; that every thing muſt give way to their intereſt, or they are not to be ſatisfied.

This note is already long, but many intereſting topics might be added. It might be shewn that as France has no occaſion to ſend merchant ships to ſea on account of the kindneſs of the Americans, she can employ every ſailor aboard her fleet, and thus her naval force is doubled. And it might be aſked, whether ſuch an augmentation of naval power be of no diſadvantage to Great Britain.

It might alſo be proved that the ſyſtem of economy, adopted by America; if it be beneficial to herſelf, (of which I have doubts) renders her incapable of preſerving her neutrality. To preſerve peace, we muſt be prepared for war. Without ſhips of war, ſhe is obliged to ſubmit to Bonaparte's decrees; he knows that ſhe can do nothing, and his tyrannical temper will not even allow her to bluſter. Avarice will not ſuffer her to give up trading with France, nor to equip a ſquadron to maintain her reſpectability, and her miſerable ſubmiſſions are injurious to the intereſts of Great Britain; thoſe injuries are therefore repelled by the latter nation, and at this America is furious. In fine the defenceleſs commerce of America, is one of the principal cauſes of the preſent difficulties, not by inducing Great Britain to attack it, for no fleet which ſhe is capable of furniſhing would be formidable to the Britiſh; but becauſe it induces Bonaparte to have recourſe to meaſures which he would not hazard, could America block up his ports.

Mr. Baring compares Great Britain to a Merchant, and mentions the diſpute with America as founded upon an erroneous calculation. The compariſon may be proved incorrect, and the diſpute founded not upon calculation; but upon a matter of primary importance; "Whether America ſhall be premitted to render our moſt formidable bulwark of defence nugatory." Mr. Baring ſhews himſelf an able advocate for America; but like all partizans, he keeps every thing out of ſight that makes againſt him. What muſt convince every impartial man that America is in the wrong, is that British adminiſtrations of all political parties, have endeavoured to treat, but in vain—the States reject every condition, and will not even condeſcend to mention what they would have. To prove the great deſire which the

British Miniſtry have uniformly shewn to treat with America ; I might begin with the offer of renewing Jay's treaty, and by detailing the diplomatic intercourſe ſince that time, it would appear that the preſent Government of the United States are determined not to treat ; not to be ſatisfied—their rudeneſs to Mr. Jackſon, and their contemptible figure in that tranſaction is too recent to require particular notice. The great talents of this ambassador, became a terror to the Preſident and his officers ; finding themſelves unequal in converſation, they had recourſe to writing ; but their inferiority appearing ſtill more conſpicuous, and deſpairing of duping him as they had duped his predeceſſor, they broke off all intercourſe.

It is to be lamented that a man of Mr. Baring's talents and influence, should prove himſelf ſo warm a partizan ; had the character of the Americans, eſpecially of the dominant party, and their conduct ſince the French revolution been properly known in England, his reasonings would have had little weight. It is matter of joy that his opponents, if inferior in talents, will have the better cause ; and in confuting him, they will only have to prove the juſtice of puniſhing fraud.

Several of the remarks in this note are taken from a letter of the late Mr. Fisher Ames to one of his friends.—He was a great loſer by the British captures in 1805, but his honeſt heart acknowledged their juſtice.—I am glad of an opportunity of teſtifying my reſpect for this virtuous and eloquent man, who was an honour to his Country.—I shall conclude this note with a couple of quotations from writers who will not be ſuſpected of partiality to Great Britain.

Extract from a letter addreſſed by the Hon. Matthew Lyon, Member of Congreſs, to a Correſpondent in Vermont.

In anſwer to one of the queſtions you have put to me, I know of but little, if any good, Congreſs are doing by continuing their Seſſion.—To another, I ſay, I can ſee no benefit from the rejection of the treaty made by Meſſrs. Munroe and Pinckney.—It might have ſaved us, had it been agreed to, from the embargo, which has been a curſe to the nation ever ſince it was thought of. I know of no good to be expected from the quarrel between our ſecretary of ſtate and Mr. Jackſon. I ſee what I call a dangerous predilection in favour of Bonaparte ; and an unjuſtifiable zeal to keep open and widen the breach with England on the part of my old friends, the republicans.

The Commercial Report for January 1806, in the Monthly Magazine, contains the following remarks:

In a former number of our Magazine, we ſtated the leading features of the diſpute between this country and America, reſpecting the alledged unwarrantable capture of their veſſels. We then indeavoured to exhibit the preciſe nature of the complaint; and though we might, in our unbiaſſed opinion, have advocated the principles upon which the Americans pretended to regulate their commerce with the belligerent powers, yet we are aware that their practice is replete with fraud and colluſion. That the Americans ſhould have availed themſelves of any opportunity to extend their trade is not ſurpriſing, but that our Government ſhould ſo long have tolerated this abuſe, to the injury of our commerce, is a ſtrong proof of the indulgence and lenity with which they have been treated, and of the unmixed deſire in the British miniſtry to cherish and preſerve the relations of amity and good faith between the two countries.

In the moral character of the American nation, however, there appears to be a radical defect. Their intereſt muſt be made the primum mobile of every regulation, or they can never be pleaſed. Their frauds and ſtratagems have been detected by Spain as well as by us, and a ſerious miſunderſtanding is ſtated to have taken place between them and that power; but againſt the mother country their whole vengeance is directed, and a long article has appeared in the *National Intelligencer*, (the demi-official paper of the executive,) animadverting on the injuries received from this country, and inſinuating the determination of the next congreſs to retaliate on us by levying heavy prohibitory duties on our manufactures imported, and to ſuſpend all intercourſe with us and our dependencies.

In the actual ſituation of Europe, in which every individual power has to wage a war, for exiſtence, againſt the unprincipled and mad ambition of a military adventurer, the Americans ought, as a duty they owe to civil ſociety and to the cauſe of liberty, which they affect to cherish, to make cheerful ſacrifices to the common cauſe; and they ought by a magnanimous conduct founded on principle, and not on the grovelling views of temporary advantage, to avail themſelves of this opportunity of acquiring the eſteem of foreign nations.

FINIS.